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Nazarkin Statement on Chemical Weapons Ban

LD151521 Moscow TASS in English 1457 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Geneva March 15 TASS—The Soviet Union favours the speediest conclusion of an all-embracing convention on a general and complete ban on chemical weapons, without any exception, and the destruction of the industrial base for the manufacture of chemical weapons. A statement to this effect has been made here today by Yuriy Nazarkin, the head of the USSR delegation at the conference on disarmament.

He noted with alarm the continuing attempts by some countries to depart from the agreed aim of a general and complete ban on chemical weapons, to replace the drafting of a convention with partial measures for the regulation of chemical weapons and their production.

Touching upon a number of outstanding issues, which are in need of a political settlement, the Soviet representative singled out above all the need for mandatory inspections at request without the right of denial. As regards the order of destruction of the chemical weapons stocks, the USSR proposes the scrapping of separate categories of these stocks within a shorter time. Nazarkin also set forth new proposals concerning the measures to ensure that the commercial industry does not produce chemical weapons, a multilateral exchange of information prior to signing the convention, which would be a useful contribution to the resolution of practical issues in connection with preparation of a convention.

In addition to the information announced earlier as regards the Soviet chemical weapons stocks, the Soviet representative said:

There are no chemical weapons belonging to other countries in Soviet territory.

The USSR has not transferred to other states technology and equipment for the production of chemical weapons.

Since January 1, 1946 it has not received chemical weapons, technology and equipment for their production from other states.

In conclusion, the head of the Soviet delegation urged the other participants to make efforts for the speediest completion of drafting the convention on a complete and general ban on chemical weapons, which will simultaneously prove the possibility and promising character of multilateral efforts in the field of disarmament.

More Missiles Arrive at Liquidation Site

LD161159 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0330 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Announcer-read report; from the "120 Minutes" program]

[Text] Another train with operational-tactical missiles OTR-22, or SS-12, which are to be destroyed in accordance with the treaty between the USSR and the United States in the event of it being ratified, has arrived at the steppe station of Saryvozek, Kazakhstan. U.S. experts will observe the precise fulfillment of conditions.

Pyadyshev, Brodetskiy Discuss INF Treaty

AU011540 [Editorial Report] Sofia LITERATUREN FRONT in Bulgarian in Issue 9 of 25 February on pages 1 and 6 carries a 1,000-word report on a discussion between Boris Pyadyshev, "editor in chief of the journal MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN, Soviet diplomat, and member of the Collegium of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR," and Vladimir Brodetskiy, chief of the International Department of the daily MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, entitled "Along the Path of Security" and supplied "especially for LITERATUREN FRONT." The discussion concerns the prospects opened up by the INF Treaty.

Pyadishev begins by noting the unique character of the treaty, which includes unprecedented verification measures which "may serve as a prototype for future disarmament agreements." Brodetskiy, however, warns of the dangers posed by calls among West European military circles for "compensation" for the missiles to be eliminated, referring to a report by "the Anglo-American Information Council on Security" that estimates the expected numbers of missiles in NATO's arsenal in the mid-nineties. Pyadishev agrees, and adds that this reflects the "sad and dangerous theory" that Western Europe needs nuclear weapons to counterbalance the Warsaw Pact's superiority on conventional arms. However, the Warsaw Pact, he notes, proposes that the existing imbalances be corrected by reducing, not increasing arms.

Later Brodetskiy refers to a conversation he had with an unnamed "Italian political scientist," who asserted that if NATO and the Warsaw Pact did not exist, the Balkan countries "would immediately come to blows, as was often the case in the past." Pyadyshev agrees that in the Balkans "well-known roots of antagonism have been preserved to the present day," but stresses that "the guarantee for peace in the Balkans...will be the system of universal security proposed by the socialist countries."

Pyadyshev and Brodetskiy then discuss the process of ratifying the INF Treaty in Washington and Moscow, which they expect will be successfully completed, and look forward to a further agreement on a 50 percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons.

Gerasimov Holds News Conference 15 March

Signals at Geneva 'Alarming'

LD151747 Moscow TASS in English 1700 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 15 TASS—"A businesslike atmosphere has formed on the whole at the talks on nuclear and space arms in Geneva and work generally is proceeding normally. Yet alarming signals are also coming from Geneva", a briefing here today was told by Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate.

"It has already happened that the delegations made mutual claims in the course of work. But today, when in accordance with the decisions of the Washington and Moscow meetings it is best to concentrate all efforts on intensifying work to find mutually acceptable solutions in the joint draft treaty on a 50 per cent reduction of strategic nuclear arms, the levelling of charges, as the American side has done recently, is hardly conducive to the creation of a constructive atmosphere at the talks".

The USSR delegation at the talks has tabled combined drafts on two documents accompanying the treaty on strategic offensive arms—the protocol on inspections and the protocol on the re-equipment or elimination of strategic offensive arms and also on the memorandum on the initial data base. "We would like to hope for a constructive approach by the American side to these documents and also to the agreement on observance of the ABM Treaty and non-withdrawal from it within a specified period on the basis of the accord reached at the meetings in Washington and the meetings of the ministers of foreign affairs of the USSR and the United States in Moscow", the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed.

The American side often displays desire to accuse the Soviet delegation of being supposedly unconstructive and to put the blame on it for the insufficiently fast progress at the talks. Along with occasional demonstrations of unpreparedness to discuss substantially key questions of the future reductions of strategic offensive arms attempts are being made under the guise of "developing" positions to re-interpret the Washington accords and understandings, actually to retreat to pre-Washington and pre-Moscow positions which cannot lead to a mutually acceptable agreement, Gennadiy Gerasimov said. Thus, instead of working on questions of the ABM Treaty in strict accordance with the workings of the joint statement adopted in Washington at summit level the American side is trying to make the other side accept its project directed at destroying the Washington accord.

"The Soviet side stands for constructive and vigorous work in Geneva", the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said. We are convinced that given political will the delegations are capable through joint effort to cope well and in time with the task that was set in Washington and confirmed in Moscow. This would accord with the fundamental interests of the Soviet and the American peoples, international security and stability as a whole". [quotation mark as received]

Statement on CW Ban Hailed

LD151542 Moscow TASS in English 1530 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 15 TASS—The head of the Information Directorate of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, Gennadiy Gerasimov, read out the text of a statement by the ministry at the ministry's Press Centre today:

"At the March 8, 1988, sitting of the conference on disarmament a statement by the group of non-aligned and neutral states (Group of 21) on a ban on chemical weapons was read out. The statement urged the participants in the talks to speed them up with a view to concluding as early as possible a convention on a full and effective ban on the development, production, accumulation and uses of any chemical weapons and their elimination.

"This action, taken at a time when the talks are approaching the most responsible, final stage, is convincing proof of worldwide support for the goal of fully ridding mankind of the threat of chemical weapons. Especially gratifying is the fact that the statement by the Group of 21 emphasises the inadmissibility and danger of delaying the talks and the importance that all the participants in the talks take maximum efforts to achieve early progress.

"The Soviet Union fully supports the stand of the non-aligned and neutral states which advocate full, rather than partial, elimination of all chemical weapons, and a full, rather than partial, ban on their production.

"The way the question is put in the statement of the Group of 21 is especially appropriate and timely as in recent time NATO circles have been coming up more and more often with an 'idea' of abandoning the agreed-upon goal of a general and full ban on chemical weapons and replacing efforts to work out a comprehensive convention of such a ban with partial measures to regulate chemical armaments, which would allow the further development, production and accumulation of new types of such weapons.

"Directly connected with such sentiments are proposals, set forth by some people at the talks, to leave the production of chemical weapons outside the convention's ban. One cannot fail to see also the fact that there is a definite relationship between these 'ideas' and the recently-started production of binary chemical munitions in the United States. This gives rise to legitimate concern for the prospects of a chemical disarmament agreement.

"The Soviet Union fully supports the statement of the Group of 21 and reiterates its determination to do everything depending on it for a convention on a general

and full ban on and elimination of all chemical weapons, without exception and under the most effective control, to become a political reality in the near future.

"Now there are all conditions for concluding such a convention, and delays in this field cannot be justified either politically or morally."

Gorbachev SFRY Visit Noted

LD151250 Moscow TASS in English 1243 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 15 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev's official friendly visit to Yugoslavia, which began on Monday, is of great fundamental importance for the further all-round and stable development of Soviet-Yugoslav relations and for strengthening understanding between our countries and peoples, a briefing here today was told by Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate. The distinguished Soviet guest is getting a heartfelt welcome everywhere, he said further.

"The visit continues but already now there is ground to speak about the usefulness and fruitfulness of the talks that have been started", the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Shevardnadze U.S. Trip Outlined

LD151536 Moscow TASS in English 1509 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 15 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will visit Washington March 20-23 in keeping with an agreement reached in Moscow last February, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing here today.

The visit's schedule included a meeting with U.S. President Ronald Reagan and several rounds of talks with Secretary of State George Shultz, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the ministry's Information Directorate, said.

"We regard this visit," the spokesman stated, "as continuation of the active political dialogue with the American leadership which creates an opportunity for substantive discussion of the entire range of Soviet-American relations."

The two sides will examine progress in implementing agreements and instructions agreed upon at the Washington summit. Top priority is to be given to problems connected with the drafting of a treaty on the 50-per cent reduction of strategic offensive weapons provided the ABM Treaty be observed in the form it was signed in 1972 and the sides stay within it for an agreed upon period.

They will also discuss questions of limiting arms and achieving disarmament, specifically those connected with chemical and conventional weapons, regional conflicts, including in Latin America, bilateral relations, and humanitarian problems and human rights.

The Soviet spokesman informed journalists about the March 11 meeting between the Soviet foreign minister and Richard Murphy, personal representative of the U.S. secretary of state, in which they discussed the issue of the Middle East settlement.

It is planned to continue the discussion of the subject during the foreign minister's visit to Washington.

"On the whole," said the ministry spokesman, "The forthcoming talks will be directed at the effective preparation for the Soviet-American summit meeting."

Reagan's SDI Speech Noted

LD151633 Moscow TASS in English 1543 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 15 TASS—"It is five years since U.S. President Ronald Reagan has called upon American scientists to use all their knowledge to defend the United States against nuclear missile attack," a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing here today.

Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Ministry's Information Directorate, said that this date was being observed in the United States. A special seminar was organised in Washington, which was addressed by the U.S. President on Monday.

Numerous studies conducted in the past years showed that an impenetrable American ABM defence was technically unfeasible, said the Soviet spokesman. Leading military authorities mentioned a limited ABM defence at best. But President Reagan spoke in an optimistic vein, indicating that principal difficulties were connected not with the implementation of the design of 100-per cent proof defence, but with the restructuring of the way of thinking of people who did not want to believe in his dream.

Defending his dream, the U.S. President alleged that the Soviet Union all but started the deployment of its own strategic defence and, therefore, if the United States abandoned SDI, it was risking to remain totally defenceless.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman emphasised that the Soviet Union was not going and would not create and deploy its SDI, and called on Washington to act likewise.

TU Group Denied U.S. Visas

LD151632 Moscow TASS in English 1605 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 15 TASS—The U.S. Department of State has denied entry visas to the members of a delegation of the Central Committee of the Construction and Building Materials Industry Workers' Union, invited to the United States by the Council of the Contra Costa Building Workers Unions (California), for a return visit, said Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, at a briefing today.

"The new discriminatory step on the part of the U.S. Department of State has been unexpected even for the trade union which invited the Soviet colleagues to visit the United States," said the representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry. "It turns out that the administration in word advocates a broader exchange of ideas, information and people. But in deed it fails to honour the relevant provisions of the Helsinki Final Act."

PLO Mission Closure Rapped

LD151646 Moscow TASS in English 1552 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 15 TASS—The law signed by the President of the United States which, specifically, imposes the ban on the establishment of any missions of the Palestine Liberation Organization of the United States territory goes into effect one of these days, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry Gennadiy Gerasimov said at a briefing here today. In this connection, the 42nd session of the United Nations General Assembly adopted Resolution 42/210 which says that in accordance with the 1947 agreement between the UNO and the United States on U.N. central agencies, the United States is law-bound to observe the existing agreements with regard to the mission of permanent observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the United Nations.

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman condemned the discriminatory action of the White House against the PLO.

Nguyen Van Linh Visit Planned

LD151505 Moscow TASS in English 1454 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 15 TASS—The visit by General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam Nguyen Van Linh to the USSR "is being prepared, but no specific date has as yet been fixed," a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing here today.

Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, made the remark in connection with Western mass media reports that the Vietnamese party leader would come to the USSR this month.

Iran, Iraq Both 'Losers'

LD151626 Moscow TASS in English 1524 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 15 TASS—"It is highly regretful that the statements made a few days ago by representatives of Iran and Iraq on their readiness to stop hitting strikes on towns and settlements have not actually been materialized".

This was stated at a briefing here today by Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the Foreign Ministry of the USSR. "No matter who has initiated the resumption of 'the war of the cities', both sides are the losers: The number of civilian casualties is growing, and the sentiments of mutual hostility and animosity are deepening".

The obtaining situation insistently calls for undelayed efficient and energetic measures to be taken by the international community in order to stop "the war of the cities", to put the conflict onto the channel of a peaceful political settlement. The Security Council, which bears the main responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security, is bound in the first place to say its weighty word, said the representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

"It is necessary, the Soviet side believes, that the Security Council should urgently demand that both sides stop hitting strikes on towns and settlements and refrain from actions leading to escalation of the conflict. In this context, it is important that the U.N. secretary general should continue and build up his peace-making efforts", said Gennadiy Gerasimov.

FRG Relations 'Improved'

LD151734 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1614 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 15 Mar (TASS)—"We welcome the accord on a top-level exchange of visits between the USSR and the FRG as fresh evidence of the improvement in Soviet-West German relations which has been taking shape," Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said at a briefing here today.

"Recently the political dialogue between the USSR and the FRG has livened up, mutual understanding has improved, and a coming together of positions on some issues of disarmament has taken shape," he went on. "Franz-Josef Strauss and Lothar Spaeth visited the Soviet Union at the end of 1987 and the beginning of 1988. They had conversations with Mikhail Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders, which enabled the West German side to better understand the essence of the changes taking place in the USSR."

During Eduard Shevardnadze's visit to Bonn the two sides confirmed their readiness to open a new chapter in relations between the USSR and the FRG and to give it specific substance.

FRG business circles are playing an active part in the improvement of Soviet-West German relations, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed.

New Thinking Needed To Resolve Global Issues

PM151447 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[Political Observer Vsevolod Ovchinnikov article: "As People to People"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The new political thinking is becoming part of life today. The world began speaking of it in earnest only during our eighties, thanks to the Soviet Union's bold, persistent, farsighted initiatives. The priority of general human interests, which became established in USSR foreign policy after the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, raised it to the level of the demands of the present day and made it conform to the times.

For Soviet Communists, the new thinking is not a new game but a theoretical and political imperative. It has enabled them to make a strict analysis of the objective situation and elaborate a responsible and efficient policy with regard to the fact that the modern world is different from what it was several decades ago. On the other hand, thanks to the new thinking and through the policy based on it the humanist essence of socialism, the living link between the class principle and the general human principle in the world process, and the combination of both in resolving urgent problems of the present day are revealed more fully. For many years, it was dinned into the peoples of capitalist countries that socialism is born of war, seeks world supremacy, and so, as a supposedly expansionist force, is to blame for the arms race. Restructuring and the new thinking have dispelled those fabrications and made it possible to choose the correct way to save mankind from destruction and resolve other global problems and, moreover, to resolve them, above all, in the working people's interests.

The program advanced by the Soviet Union—the total elimination of nuclear weapons by the beginning of the next millennium—is a graphic example of the new political thinking. The USSR advocates a nuclear-free world not only because it sees this as the optimum condition for its own internal development. This is an objective requirement on a worldwide scale.

The elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles will be the first step on the path of nuclear disarmament. The next goal is the halving of strategic arsenals. But, having initiated our planet's demilitarization, the USSR certainly does not call for a return to the "prenuclear" world, where Clausewitz' formula would once again acquire currency. We seek to emerge onto a qualitatively new level and to assert an all-embracing system of international security which would rule out any use of force in relations among states.

Precisely this goal was set in the Delhi Declaration signed by the leaders of the USSR and India—the first country of socialism and the largest of the nonaligned states: "In the nuclear age, mankind must formulate a new political thinking and a new concept of peace which gives reliable guarantees of mankind's survival. People want to live in a safer, more just world. Mankind is worthy of a better fate than that of a hostage of nuclear terror and despair. It is necessary to change the world situation which has taken shape and build a world free from nuclear weapons, free from violence and hatred, from fear and suspicion."

Marx long ago urged people to "try to ensure that the simple laws of morality and justice by which private persons must be guided in their relationships also become the supreme laws in relations among peoples." What has always been the desired goal has become an urgent need, the imperative of the times. Man's sacred right to life has acquired new resonance. It has become a global problem demanding an integral, that is, once again, a global solution. Mankind's survival and the planet's habitability cannot be ensured partially. We cannot "sit out" a nuclear conflict, just as we cannot ensure the purity of the air or the water just within our own national borders.

The vital tasks of the present day can and must be resolved only wholly, comprehensively, and together. Individual countries cannot do this. The chief point is that it is hopeless to approach them from egotistic, narrowly understood national positions. The exacerbation of global problems and the need for international cooperation in resolving them highlight the role of general human values as the linchpin of politics.

Both the negative and positive processes of the modern age help to assert common sense and to shape the new thinking. On the one hand, unprecedented dangers to the existence of the human race have emerged. On the other, the role of public forces has increased immeasurably. Voices have started to be heard saying that politics must not be the monopoly of statesmen alone and that politics will become really correct and wise only if they have a moral, scientific basis. Without the humanization of international relations, it is impossible to overcome mistrust and estrangement and draw the peoples closer in the face of the common danger.

The birth of the "International Foundation for the Survival and Development of Mankind" reflected the desire of the intelligentsia's best representatives to cooperate actively in the name of peace while remaining devoted to their choice—social, ideological, religious. The idea advanced by the CPSU Central Committee general secretary of creating a worldwide consultative

council uniting the world's intellectual elite has met with a broad and well-disposed response. Eminent scientific, art, and church figures could really enrich the scientific and moral potential of modern politics. "The most serious problems which the world is now encountering are problems common to all mankind, and they are interconnected," 75 Nobel Prize winners meeting in Paris declared recently.

It is 33 years since the Einstein-Russell manifesto was published. But the past 3 years mean a particularly great deal for the assertion of the new thinking. This has been promoted, first, by the farsightedness, dynamism, and readiness for reasonable compromises displayed by the Soviet Union in the struggle for a nuclear-free world and for an all-embracing system of international security. Second, it has been promoted by the active emergence of public forces onto the front of the stage of history. The interaction of these two factors and their interpretation in political consciousness resulted in the solemn declaration by the Soviet and U.S. leaders: "Nuclear war must never be unleashed and can have no victors."

But if nuclear war must not be waged, then it is senseless to continue the nuclear race. However, certain Western statesmen see nuclear disarmament only as a descent of an escalator which is going up. They want to "compensate" for any reduction in one part of the nuclear arsenals by building up another part. With their slogan "Not a Europe free from nuclear weapons but a Europe free from wars," these politicians resemble a dangerous crank who clutches a mortar shell to his chest in the hope of keeping safe a purse lying nearby.

As people to people, the times demand that we look at the realities of our days, above all, from general human positions. Precisely this is what the Soviet Union seeks by insistently introducing a triad of concepts into the diplomatic lexicon: man-humanity-mankind.

Proceedings of UN Human Rights Commission Viewed
PM151500 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Mar 88 p 9

[Special correspondent M. Maksimov report: "Human Rights in the Mirror of Geneva, or a Play With a Surprise Ending"]

[Text] Geneva—During these March days, there have been even more journalists and visitors than usual in the Palais des Nations. Apart from the now usual Soviet-U.S. disarmament talks, the 44th session of the UN Commission on Human Rights was held here, and then the Afghan-Pakistani meeting continued. Of these international events, by the time this issue of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA went to press, only the 44th session had ended. It ended with the signing of a whole series of resolutions on highly urgent issues connected with safeguarding human rights. The vast majority of delegates condemned the mass violations of these rights in southern Africa, Chile, and the Israeli-occupied Arab territories.

What distinguished this session from the previous one? V.B. Lomeyko, head of the Soviet delegation, answered this question thus:

"A certain humanization of international relations is taking place. It was manifested at this meeting, too. The trend toward understanding of the idea of cooperation is strengthening. It is not a matter of the number of resolutions adopted; it is a matter of the very spirit of the session, of the fact that, for instance, more resolutions are being adopted by consensus, that is, without a vote. On the other hand, the past year showed that forces exist who do not like the ideas of cooperation."

I would, alas, apply these words of Ambassador Lomeyko's first and foremost to the members of the American delegation, whose speeches offered a vivid contrast with the official talks held in Moscow and Washington. Even the composition of the delegation was patently tendentious. It included many emigres from socialist countries, who had a negative attitude toward socialism by virtue of their own personal scores. The delegation was headed by a man who spent 22 years in a Cuban jail. While speaking, he was constantly drawing on his own experience, omitting to point out that he was behind bars not for political activity but for participation in terrorist acts. Nor did he say that on his arrest he was found in possession of homemade bombs, which had exploded at Havana University and killed innocent people. Thus an atmosphere of tension was created on the island, which right-wing forces and the special services tried to use against the revolution. After the arrest of the terrorists, these forces decided to represent them as political prisoners and accuse Cuba of violating human rights. And that is what happened. The majority of the delegations must have known this, and that was clearly why they adopted a very restrained attitude to the anti-Cuban resolution proposed by the Americans and their head, A. Valladares.

Fairly frequently, in the corridors at the session, people mentioned Secretary of State G. Shultz, who had acknowledged that human rights are a two-way street. And two-way traffic is becoming established. Soviet and American legislators are planning to discuss human rights problems together, and our experts plan joint operations in the struggle against drug addiction and alcoholism, for the right to a healthy way of life, but here, unfortunately, it appeared that the present U.S. delegation was appointed not by President Reagan but by someone else, from the old times.

Be that as it may, the Americans passionately wanted to get their resolution, and they grudged neither time nor effort. As heavy artillery, General Walters dropped in, and he was succeeded by the President's daughter Maureen Reagan. It looked as though the anti-Cuban resolution would get through thanks to their efforts, albeit with only a small majority. But no! The play acted out on the stage of the Palais des Nations had a new ending, which

came as a surprise to many. The delegations of Argentina, Colombia, Mexico, and Peru proposed taking advantage of the kind invitation of the Cuban Government to visit their country so that representatives of the commission, headed by its chairman, could see for themselves that the American claims were biased. The most striking thing was that this proposal was passed by consensus. The delegates noted that this was largely to the credit of the commission chairman, the Senegalese Alioune Sene. His authority and diplomatic tact helped such diverse people (and the session was attended by representatives of the 43 member states of the commission, 60 observers, and more than 100 representatives of various nongovernmental organizations) to display unanimity.

Listening to the delegates' speeches (there were several dozen of them a day), I found myself thinking one and the same thought: Well, fine, they will talk, they will adopt various resolutions, and they will go home, but what about mankind or any one individual—will his life become easier because of all this talk? Can they give the homeless a roof, protect the innocent from an unjust trial, feed the unemployed, or stay the hand of a hired killer?

I asked these questions of many politicians and journalists I met with in Geneva: V.B. Lomeyko, French Ambassador Leprette, delegates R. Jaeger from the FRG and Rita Casco from Nicaragua, and Amnesty International staffer Helena Cook. Combining their opinions on this score, one may say: We live in a dependent world; therefore, we can only resolve together the questions that torment all mankind. Human rights are among these questions. Without resolving these questions, the world cannot live in safety. Violence begets violence. That being so, international organizations are needed where these questions can be discussed and optimum approaches and acceptable recommendations can be found. The Soviet representative, for instance, proposed discussing the question of the human right to objective information, so that readers of Soviet newspapers should not be given the impression that the inhabitants of the FRG are revanchists to a man, while the French, Danes, and Netherlanders see Soviet people as hungry for world domination. The Western delegates greeted this proposal cautiously, trying to find some concealed ideological ploy in it, which is to say that the old habits operated again—seeing sinister designs in everything Soviet.

As for the individual, he has an interest in reliable mechanisms for securing the recommendations drawn up by the commission. To this end it is necessary for internal legislation to be brought into line with international legislation, first and foremost, through the recognition of relevant pacts on human rights. Here, incidentally, rather strange things are happening.... The United States, as is known, has not ratified many such pacts, but takes great pleasure in telling other people how to observe them. This is not the point of such international meetings. The point is that true concern for even one individual can be achieved only through cooperation. This was once again confirmed by the UN session on human rights which has ended in Geneva.

East-West Relations Discussed at Brussels Meeting

LD160926 Moscow TASS in English 0638 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] Brussels March 15 TASS—A joint press conference of the ambassadors of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia to Belgium, and the ambassadors—permanent representatives of the United States and the Netherlands at NATO was held at the International Press Centre in Brussels today.

This joint press conference, the first in its way, was devoted to one general theme, "The Present and Future of East-West Relations." The conference was sponsored by the Brussels Association of International Press which wished to confine the exchange of opinions exclusively to disarmament issues.

The press conference revealed two different approaches to the matters of disarmament and consolidating mutual trust between East and West.

On the one hand, it was a clear, concrete and constructive stance of socialist countries which proposed various specific measures towards creating a nuclear-free world by 2000 and establishing mutually beneficial cooperation among nations in the name of world peace and the prosperity of peoples.

And on the other, it was an obstructionist stance of the NATO military-political bloc, which continues reflecting the striving of the West to gain military superiority, to keep and modernize its nuclear arsenals and to put up various kinds of barriers on the way towards creating an atmosphere of trust.

This NATO position reflected the obvious striving to put in oblivion the main principle of security that in today's nuclear age it can only be mutual and that no country can guarantee it only for itself ignoring the interests of other countries.

In this sense, the U.S. and Dutch ambassadors did not go far from the provisions of the documents adopted here at the recent special session of the North Atlantic Council at the level of heads of state and government.

Falin Objects to Vienna as Conference Site

AU141453 Vienna KURIER in German 14 Mar 88 p 3

[Text] In diplomatic circles in the Vienna International Center, it is privately being said that Vienna is currently not or hardly in demand as a venue for conferences. To date it has been fairly certain that over the next few months at least two big East-West conferences will be held in the Austrian

capital: the negotiations between NATO and the Warsaw Pact on conventional disarmament in Europe and the CSCE conference on confidence-building.

Now, for the first time, a leading Soviet functionary has spoken out against a new disarmament conference in Vienna.

"The Austrian capital is not the right place for the dry topic of disarmament," said Valentin Falin, head of the Soviet news agency NOVOSTI and advisor to Gorbachev, at a meeting of the "Research Institute for Peace Policy" in Starnberg, Upper Bavaria. Falin stated that the MBFR talks have not yielded the desired results for 14 years because "Vienna is too comfortable [zu gemuetlich]." The former Soviet ambassador to Bonn said that in Spitsbergen the delegates might have worked more quickly. A cat-caller then proposed "Siberia" as the venue for the conference.

Inspectors Complete NATO Exercise Assessment
LD151821 Moscow TASS in English 1642 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 15 TASS—A group of Soviet military inspectors today completed the inspection of a stated area inside Norwegian territory in connection with the earlier announced exercise held there by NATO's joint Armed Forces.

The inspection mission was carried out in keeping with corresponding provisions of the document of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe.

United States & Canada

Yazov-Carlucci Talks Open in Switzerland

Yazov Arrives in Zurich

PM161202 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Mar 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report under general heading "Arrival in Switzerland"]

[Text] On 15 March Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, left Moscow for Bern for a meeting with U.S. Defense Secretary F. Carlucci.

He was seen off at the airport by V.I. Dolgikh, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister; Marshal of the Soviet Union V.G. Kulikov, USSR first deputy defense minister and commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces; A.A. Bessmertnykh, USSR deputy foreign minister; and other officials.

Among the sendoff party were J.F. Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR, and F. Pianca, Swiss ambassador to the USSR.

On the same day, D.T. Yazov arrived in Zurich. In accordance with the accord that was reached, he will meet with U.S. Defense Secretary F. Carlucci in Bern 16-17 March.

We regard this meeting, the USSR defense minister said on his arrival, as a continuation of the Soviet-American dialogue started at the talks between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President R. Reagan in Geneva in 1985. We believe that the forthcoming exchange of opinions will make it possible to gain a better understanding of the content and thrust of the military doctrines of the Soviet Union and the United States and will help us to find solutions to the most complex questions at the talks on nuclear and space arms in Geneva, prepare for the start of talks on conventional arms, and activate talks on banning chemical weapons and on the problem of nuclear tests. We are also prepared to discuss questions of the activity of the USSR and U.S. Armed Forces.

We express gratitude to the Swiss Government for the opportunity to hold this meeting in Bern. I will also have a meeting with Mr Koller, chief of the Swiss Department of Military. I trust it will serve the cause of the further development of friendly bilateral relations, including relations in the military sphere.

At Zurich International Airport at Kloten, the USSR defense minister was met by Z.G. Novozhilova, USSR ambassador to Switzerland, and a representative of the Department of Military of the Swiss Confederation. From Zurich, D.T. Yazov and those accompanying him proceeded to Bern.

U.S. Plans To Divert Talks

LD151525 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1410 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 15 Mar (TASS)—TASS diplomatic correspondent reports:

Army General Dmitriy Yazov, USSR minister of defense, arrived in Switzerland today. In accordance with agreement reached, he will meet with U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci in Bern.

It emerges from F. Carlucci's interview to the AP agency that the present Pentagon boss intends to turn the meeting into a discussion on a broad range of topics, including human rights, which have nothing to do with military problems. As a result, the impression is being created that the U.S. side is trying to give the meeting a sensationalist and propaganda nature. In this connection, the legitimate question arises as to whether due attention will be given during the conversations in Bern to such a major problem as preventing nuclear catastrophe, to which any military conflict can lead between the USSR and United States.

In an interview for the TASS diplomatic correspondent on the eve of the meeting, Dmitriy Yazov stated that the Soviet side views the meeting between the defense ministers of the USSR and the United States in the context of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue, whose significance for international security and for the fate of the world is universally recognized. The Soviet side links the forthcoming meeting with F. Carlucci with the possibility of having a deepened discussion of military-political and military-technical issues with the aim of securing mutual understanding and trust between the USSR and the United States.

During the meeting, the intention is to discuss and to compare the main points of the military doctrines of the United States and the USSR and to examine questions of principle concerning arms reduction and limitation. At the same time, Dmitriy Yazov stressed, the aim is not being set of substituting for the official talks which are being conducted by the ministers of foreign affairs and the delegations of the USSR and the United States in Geneva. What is intended is to further the search for ways of solving the most acute and urgent issues on strategic offensive armaments and the ABM Treaty; to further the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe; the halting of nuclear tests; the banning and the elimination of chemical weapons. "We are counting on having a frank and constructive dialogue" the Soviet minister noted.

Army Gen Yazov went on to say that the Soviet side is ready to discuss matters of averting incidents between the Armed Forces of the United States and the USSR and that it hopes for an exchange of views during the meeting on developing contacts between the military in the belief that all this could serve the further deepening of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue.

In this connection, attempts now being made in the United States to justify the acts of provocation by the U.S. warships, the cruiser Yorktown and the destroyer Caron, during an incident off the shores of the Crimea in the Black Sea on 12 February, can only evoke astonishment. "People could have died," exclaimed a Pentagon representative who preferred to remain anonymous, referring to the actions of Soviet warships in forcing U.S. vessels out of the USSR's territorial waters. It would probably be more legitimate to put another question: "Why was it necessary to check the readiness of Soviet border troops to carry out their duty and in doing so to place the lives of U.S. sailors at risk?"

Yazov Meets Swiss Military Chief

LD151835 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1707 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Berne, 15 Mar (TASS)—Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR Defense Minister, now in Switzerland, today met with A. Koller, chief of the Swiss Department of the Military. During the discussion, in which Z.G. Novozhilova, USSR ambassador to Switzerland, also took part, there was an exchange of views on issues of mutual interest.

Today A. Koller hosted a dinner in honor of D.T. Yazov and U.S. Defense Secretary F. Carlucci.

Talks Begin in Bern

LD160839 Moscow TASS in English 0827 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] Bern March 16 TASS—A meeting between General of the Army Dmitriy Yazov, defense minister of the USSR, and U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci started here today. This is the first meeting of this kind in the history of Soviet-American relations which is a follow-up of a dialogue between the two great powers.

The Soviet side believes that the meeting will permit a profound discussion of a wide range of military-political and military-technical issues for the sake of the strengthening of mutual understanding and trust between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Reagan Admits SDI Scepticism 'Widespread'

LD160208 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] President Reagan's statement published in connection with the fifth anniversary of the so called Strategic Defense Initiative [SDI], which has come to be called Star Wars, is attracting constant attention. We asked Aleksandr Zholkver, political observer of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting to comment:

[Begin Zholkver recording] Five years ago, the Americans themselves called this initiative the plan of preparation for Star Wars, and it must be said that over the years this evaluation has not changed in the slightest. Scientists in the United States itself and beyond its borders are now warning even more insistently of the dangers connected with the deployment of weapons in space. In this, nothing has been amended by all the President's attempts to present his initiative as a defensive one. Incidentally, he admits that skepticism regarding his stellar plans is widespread, even in Congress.

I add that such skepticism is to a considerable extent connected with the truly astronomical costs of SDI. According to the latest Pentagon estimates, the deployment of its first echelon alone will cost from $75 to 100 billion, double the sum quoted 2 years ago.

It is such huge sums of money, however, that are an attractive enticement especially to major U.S. concerns. You see, many of them are alarmed in earnest by the prospect of losing orders for intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles, since these missiles are to be eliminated on the basis of the relevant Soviet-U.S. treaty. And now, announcing intentions to continue and even to speed up the implementation of SDI, the President is reassuring the U.S. military industrial complex.

However, the dogged advertising of the plans to ready Star Wars may have a detrimental effect on the Geneva talks on nuclear and space disarmament. You see, the draft agreement on reductions in Soviet and U.S. offensive weapons worked out here is indissolubly linked with the observation of the ABM Treaty, and the violation of that treaty by deploying weapons in space may disrupt all the workings of the agreement that has been drawn up.

Evidently sensing the shakiness of such a stand, Washington has now once again been rambling on about the Soviet Union supposedly creating its own Red shield. But, you see, during the recent visit to Krasnoyarsk the U.S. senators admitted all that is a falsification. Now even the President complains that physics is developing more rapidly than political thinking. In my view, the persistent advertising of Washington's plans for Star Wars is the most graphic evidence of this. [end recording]

Shultz-Shamir Talks on Mideast at 'Impasse'
LD160933 Moscow TASS in English 0921 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 16 TASS—TASS correspondent I. Ignatyev reports:

The talks launched here Tuesday between U.S. State Secretary George Shultz and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, who arrived in Washington on an official visit, have almost at once come into an impasse on one of the central issues—the idea of the convocation of an international conference on the Middle East.

Following the completion of the first plenary session, Shultz admitted that the discussion of the plan of the so-called settlement in the region, which was advanced by the administration, did not produce the desired results. He said the sides did not find ways to overcome all disagreements. The Israeli premier bluntly said that Tel Aviv did not see any positive role in an international Middle East conference. We are interested, first and foremost, in direct negotiations with all parties, Shamir stressed.

Avi Pazner, Israeli prime minister's adviser on information, told journalists that the inclusion in the plan suggested by Shultz of the proposal for holding an international conference became a point of contention which would have to be removed. The prime minister's adviser stressed that the U.S.-Israeli talks would be continued but Shamir was not going to give a definite answer regarding the Shultz plan until he discussed the results of the talks in Washington with the Israeli cabinet following his return from the United States.

Such a delay with the Israeli response seems to be thwarting the schedule, outlined by Shultz, which provides for convening an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of the Soviet Union in mid April, UPI news agency reports.

Speaking to Jewish activists on the same day, President Reagan emphasized that during his administration's stay in office steps were taken to build a more sturdy foundation for long-standing friendship and cooperation with Israel. The agreement on strategic cooperation between Washington and Tel Aviv was, as he put, a specific manifestation of this.

The United States' commitment to close relations with Israel and to ensuring its security finds its reflection in the size of aid extended to it, cooperation in trade and in the military fields, Reagan went on. The administration requests three billion dollars in military and economic aid to Israel in the budget for fiscal 1989.

Richard Murphy, assistant secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs, speaking in Congress on the same day, assured Israel's supporters on Capitol Hill that the administration would not allow the international Middle East conference, once it is convened, to dictate conditions for a peace settlement. At the same time, he admitted that the holding of such a conference would be impossible without the participation of the Soviet Union. The USSR wields influence in the region as we will have to find a way to conduct matters with it in the quest for a Middle East settlement, Murphy said.

Shevardnadze, U.S. Envoy Discuss Afghanistan
LD161021 Moscow TASS in English 1009 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, today received the U.S. ambassador in the USSR Jack Matlock at the latter's request.

During the conversation, which dealt mainly with questions of the settlement around Afghanistan, the ambassador's attention was drawn to the Soviet Government's statement of March 15 which contains a principled assessment of the unsatisfactory situation at the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva and also contains a clear-cut qualification of the actions of Pakistan and the United States which are artificially procrastinating the signing of actually agreed-upon accords.

Hope was expressed from the Soviet side that at this important moment the U.S. Administration will at long last display a responsible approach and start acting in accordance with the publicly proclaimed intent to facilitate the speediest entry of the Geneva accords into force, which would liquidate a serious seat of tension in international and Soviet-American relations.

Some questions connected with preparations for the forthcoming meeting of the foreign ministers of the two countries in Washington were also discussed.

Dobrynin Receives Former Secretary McNamara
LD151454 Moscow TASS in English 1418 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Anatoliy Dobrynin received the prominent American public (?figure) former Secretary of Defense of the United States Robert McNamara at the latter's request.

They discussed prospects of further constructive advance along the road of reducing nuclear and conventional (?arms). It was noted that the results of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Washington and the signing of the INF Treaty create a good basis for making a new big stride in this field and achieving substantial progress already in the near future. This [words indistinct] first of all to the draft agreement on reducing strategic offensive (?arms in conditions) of observance of the 1972 ABM Treaty. It is important now to prevent a slackening of pace in negotiations and excluding any whatsoever artificial obstacles in this endeavour.

The scientists and the public of the two countries should play a big role in studying and solving problems of arms reduction on the basis of new thinking, it was stressed by the interlocutors. Touching on the question of new thinking Robert McNamara said that Mikhail Gorbachev's innovative activity in introducing new approaches and principles in [word indistinct] politics was evoking the most widespread response among many representatives of the scientific community, the political and other circles in the United States.

The conversation passed in an informal and well-wishing atmosphere.

Soviet-U.S. Consultative Commission Meets

LD161331 Moscow TASS in English 1306 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] Geneva March 16 TASS—A regular session of the Soviet-U.S. standing consultative commission opened here today. It was formed under the memorandum on the understanding between the Governments of the USSR and the United States of December 21, 1972 to facilitate the implementation of the goals and provisions of the Soviet-U.S. agreements on limiting strategic offensive armaments and measures to reduce the risk of the outbreak of a nuclear war.

China

Gorbachev Replies to Letter From Schoolchildren

LD151448 Moscow TASS in English 1426 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 15 TASS—"I was moved by your letter in which you so passionately and sincerely wrote about the most important thing for children and grown-ups—about peace on earth, about happiness of all nations," Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out in his reply to a letter sent by Chinese schoolchildren.

"I'm sure that Soviet kids share the feelings of the Chinese schoolchildren, that they, too, dream of a lasting peace on our beautiful planet," the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said.

"Thanks for the good words about the Soviet Union, for the warm wishes to our youth. I want to tell you that Soviet people, our youths and girls deeply respect your country and wish the great Chinese people happiness, prosperity and successes in building socialism.

You and your Soviet coevals are the future of our countries. After some time you will take over work on developing their economy, science and culture and join in running state and public affairs.

The future of our countries, the future of socialism will depend on the extent you will succeed in handling these tasks.

We elders believe that your generation, which can be described as the generation of the 21st century, will continue the noble cause of strengthening Soviet-Chinese friendship, friendship of all peoples on earth."

In the letter to Mikhail Gorbachev, pupils of a secondary school of Yunyang, Sichuan Province, in the People's Republic of China, Zhang Yang and Ziong Shuhuei, said: "We know that today you are at the lead of a new revolution whose ideas have inspired the hearts of Soviet people.

They are also close to Chinese youth.

Your activity is directed at safeguarding a truly peaceful and happy future of mankind. Please convey best wishes to Soviet young people and tell them that we want to make friends with them."

Thousands of Chinese children put their signatures to the letter.

Gorbachev's reply was handed over to the Chinese schoolchildren by representatives of the Soviet Embassy in China at a ceremony in Yunyang.

Disagreements Seen in Shultz Talks With Wu

PM131547 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Disagreements Remain"]

[Text] Washington, 8 Mar—Talks were held here Monday between Secretary of State George Shultz and PRC Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian, who is visiting the United States. According to statements by U.S. officials, they devoted chief attention to questions of expanding trade and political relations between the two countries.

The details of the talks are not reported, but, to judge from the exchange of speeches at a State Department luncheon in the Chinese minister's honor, they were complex, and disagreements remain between the PRC and the United States over a number of important international problems. Thus, the Chinese minister declared that "on the whole, the development of Sino-U.S. relations over the past decade has been regular, but it has also had ups and down, twists and turns." "Tremendous development potential exists, but there are also obstacles and difficulties," Wu Xueqian emphasized. In particular, Beijing is displeased with U.S. trade barriers to textile imports from China, as well as with restrictions on deliveries of modern U.S. technology to the PRC. Wu Xueqian declared that China for its part "is ready to expand economic and technological cooperation and trade with other countries on a basis of equality and mutual advantage" and is taking measures to improve the terms for foreign investments in the country.

Washington's claims that China is supplying Silkworm missiles to Iran are causing serious diplomatic friction between the United States and China. The PRC declared as long ago as last November that it does not make such deliveries.

Li Peng, Mondale Discuss Sino-U.S. Ties

LD131034 Moscow TASS in English 1005 GMT 13 Mar 88

[Text] Beijing March 13 TASS—Li Peng, member of the standing committee of the Politburo of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, acting premier of the PRC State Counc.., met with former U.S. Vice President Walter Mondale, who is currently on a visit here. He expressed optimism about prospects for the development of Chinese-American relations. As the XINHUA agency said touching upon the recent statement by U.S. President Ronald Reagan that there is only one China, the Chinese leader voiced hope that the U.S. Administration would always adhere to that stand.

He spoke approvingly about the U.S. Administration's decision to cancel its decision on restrictions on the supply of U.S. technology to the PRC. The complications and divisions, which may arise in Chinese-American relations in the future, Li Peng noted, should be settled by the leaders of the two countries proceeding from the vital interests of the peoples of China and the USA.

RENMIN RIBAO Cited on Lhasa Unrest

PM151335 Moscow TRUD in Russian 8 Mar 88 p 3

[TASS report: "Report of Disturbances"]

[Text] Beijing, 7 Mar—RENMIN RIBAO, organ of the CPC Central Committee, today carries a report about disturbances which have taken place in Lhasa (the administrative center of the PRC Tibetan Autonomous Region), "caused by a group of separatists." The newspaper points out that 5 March, the day after the traditional annual Tibetan religious "Butter" festival, "contrary to the will of the broad masses of monks and laymen, the group of separatists tried to provoke incidents by yelling reactionary slogans."

Antarctic Researchers Exchange Gifts

LD112226 Moscow TASS in English 1821 GMT 11 Mar 88

[Text] Waterloo (King George) Island, Akademik Fedorov vessel March 11 TASS—TASS special correspondent Nikolay Konstantinov reports:

An intricate embroidery in a traditional Chinese manner featuring the Great Wall Antarctic station was given as a gift today by heads of the first research centre of the People's Republic of China in Antarctica to a ship museum of the Akademik Fedorov research vessel of the USSR. In his turn, Nikolay Kornilov, head of the 33rd Soviet Antarctic expedition, gave to the Chinese colleagues a medal commemorating the 50th anniversary of the work of the first Soviet North Pole drifting station. It is believed that the creation of the first Soviet drifting station started a new stage in the world polar exploration. The group of four courageous scientists who set out for a long trip about the unexplored areas of the central Arctic region included Yevgeniy Fedorov, a young geophysicist whose name was given to the new flagship of the Soviet Antarctic Fleet.

The exchange of the souvenirs took place during a visit of Soviet polar explorers to the Great Wall research station. It is located in the Waterloo (King George) Island near the Bellinshausen research station of the USSR. The two research groups maintain close friendly relations. Thus, Soviet polar workers give consultations to Chinese specialists in the reception of satellite information and a number of other programs. They help each other in unloading operations and the exchange of technical facilities.

Ya Gezheng, head of a wintering group of the Great Wall research station and deputy director of the State Committee of the People's Republic of China for Antarctic research, and Professor Bao Ling, as well-known specialist in marine biology, told their Soviet guests about the work of the station and long-term plans of the national Antarctic expedition. Specifically, they told them about the intention to set up another Chinese research centre in the East Antarctic region. "We are only starting our research, and the experience and assistance of Soviet scientists are of much value for us", Ya Gezheng said. On behalf of the Soviet expedition Nikolay Kornilov made the following entry in the distinguished guests' book of the Great Wall research station: "We wish you success in the exploration of the sixth continent for the benefit of peace and cooperation".

Anniversary of Zhou Enlai's Birth Noted

PM151121 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Yu. Savenkov report: "The First Premier of People's China. On the 90th Anniversary of the Birth of Zhou Enlai"]

[Text] Beijing—The Chinese newspapers have been writing a great deal recently on Zhou Enlai—the man who was head of government from the very first days of the PRC until his death in January 1976. The career of this prominent state and party figure is seen in China as an example of loyal service to the people and skillful solution of the problems of economic development on the basis of the country's real possibilities.

The collection of memoirs entitled "Of Immortal Memory," which has been published in time for the 90th anniversary of Zhou Enlai's birth, contains the reminiscences of veterans of the revolution and Zhou Enlai's comrades-in-arms. In the preface to the book PRC

President Li Xiannian urges others to follow the example of Zhou Enlai, who "combined revolutionary boldness with a spirit of realism and caution." He ranks the ability to unite people and be tolerant of others' opinions among Zhou Enlai's strong qualities. "Now, when we are solving tasks more complex than ever before, we can avoid mistakes when making important political decisions by listening to the views of different circles," Li Xiannian writes.

Zhou Enlai was born 5 March 1898 in the city of Huaian in Jiangsu Province. [as published] He studied in Shenyang and Tianjin. Biographers relate the following detail: The teacher asked his pupils "Why do you come to school?" Zhou Enlai replied: "To wake China and make it strong."

Zhou Enlai went to Europe in the early twenties. In France and Germany he organized Marxist circles among the Chinese in the firm belief that "only by following the example of the October Revolution in Russia will mankind, including China, be able to achieve liberation."

..."This photograph was taken in France in 1924 on the eve of Zhou Enlai's return to China," I was told by 23-year-old Jiang Li, who works as a tour guide at the Zhou Enlai Memorial Hall on Tiananmen Square.

Photographs and documents tell of Zhou Enlai's contribution to the Chinese revolution. The years of revolutionary struggle under the banner of the Soviets, underground work in "white" regions, and efforts to form a united front with the Kuomintang in the years of the national liberation war against Japanese imperialism.

Then there was his work as head of government of the new China. The exhibition includes drafts of the First 5-Year Plan drawn up under Zhou Enlai's leadership, which, according to RENMIN RIBAO, "was compiled on the basis of experience of building in the Soviet Union but in the light of China's specific conditions." When preparing the Second 5-Year Plan, Zhou Enlai worked on the basis of the need to create conditions conducive to the development of productive forces and the consolidation of the country's successes in the national economy. However, the Second 5-Year Plan was not destined to be met, because of the sudden "Great Leap Forward."

An article carried in RENMIN RIBAO tells of Zhou Enlai's titanic work in this period to supply starving regions with the minimum food ration, when people's bellies were "distended as a result of starvation and they were dying an unnatural death." The years following this period required the adoption of emergency measures to restore the economy.

After the beginning of the "cultural revolution" Zhou Enlai made enormous efforts to save cadre workers. He followed the principle "serve your cause until the last breath." In those years he often said to his assistants that "history and the people will understand me."

A large part of the publications on the anniversary of Zhou Enlai's birth is taken up by documents and recollections concerning the premier's foreign policy activity, as he was also foreign minister for a long time. They talk about the historic event when Zhou Enlai signed the Soviet-Chinese Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance in Moscow on 14 February 1950, which guaranteed Soviet political, economic, and military assistance for people's China. As is well known, the Soviet Union was the first state to recognize the PRC immediately after its formation and to establish diplomatic relations with it. Zhou Enlai stood at the source of these events.

Zhou Enlai, according to the authors of the memoirs, deserves particular merit for his organization of aid to the Korean people in their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression. After Chinese volunteers under the command of Peng Dehuai entered the resistance war against U.S. aggression, as premier of the PRC State Council and deputy chairman of the CPC Central Committee Military Council, Zhou Enlai did an enormous amount of work to provide the Chinese volunteers with everything they needed and was responsible for real leadership of the Chinese representatives when talks began with the U.S. side.

As the biographers show, Zhou Enlai and his wife Deng Yingchao (as they did not have any children of their own) took over responsibility for the children of servicemen who died for the revolution, some of whom they considered members of their own family. Li Peng, who is currently acting premier of the PRC State Council, was among them.

This year, according to XINHUA, on the eve of the spring festival—the New Year by the traditional Chinese calender—Li Peng paid a visit to Deng Yingchao, who currently holds the post of chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference National Committee. "You have been given a difficult task by the party and the people and you must be modest and circumspect and strive to do your work better," Deng Yingchao said to him.

Northeast Asia

Yakovlev Received by Mongolia's Batmonh

LD151909 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1419 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 15 Mar (TASS)—Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the MPR People's Great Hural, today received Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of

the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who is here on a working visit at the invitation of the MPRP Central Committee. The Mongolian leader reported the progress of putting into effect the decisions of the 19th party congress and subsequent plena of the MPRP Central Committee. At the contemporary stage the main tasks are to improve the economic mechanism, strengthen socialist democracy and affirm a businesslike spirit. Active ideological and educational work is called for by the party to ensure these are dealt with. It is essential to transfer this work directly into the labor collectives and to increase militancy and assertiveness. Comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community has a determining role in accelerating socialist construction in the MPR, Jambyn Batmonh stressed.

The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee briefed the Mongolian side in detail concerning the implementation of restructuring in the Soviet Union and with the details and substance of the CPSU's ideological activity in its current phase.

During the meeting emphasis was given to the importance of signing a treaty between the USSR and the United States to eliminate two classes of nuclear missiles and the necessity of reaching agreement on large-scale reductions in strategic offensive weapons.

Agreement Signed

LD160140 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1541 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 15 March (TASS)—A program for deepening cooperation between the CPSU and the MPRP in ideology, culture, science, and education was signed here today. It was signed by Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Tserendashiyn Namsray, member of the Politburo, secretary of the MPRP Central Committee.

The program's purpose is to facilitate in an effective manner the process of speeding up the social and economic development of the USSR and MPR and of solving major tasks, set by the 27th CPSU Congress and 19th MPRP Congress and by the subsequent plenary sessions of the central committees of both parties. It is based on the rich experience of the long cooperation between the CPSU and the MPRP, which serves the common, creative goals, strengthening internationalist friendship, spiritual rapprochement between the USSR and MPR peoples, and the cause of socialism and peace.

Glazunov on INF Treaty, Asia-Pacific Security

OW150913 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 10 Mar 88

[Glazunov commentary]

[Text] As was already reported, both the Soviet and U.S. parliaments have been discussing ratification of the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty. The INF Treaty has been discussed in other nations as well. In this connection, Radio Moscow political commentator Glazunov gives the following comments: [Glazunov's initial words in Russian, fading into Japanese translation]

I would like to deal with the INF Treaty's relationship to Asia. This aspect is not discussed much internationally. Discussions are now being carried out only on abolition of the INF in Europe. It is as if people have forgotten the global double-zero conception. This may reflect some people's unwillingness to touch on the Soviet role in the Asian aspect of the disarmament process. This is because it is only the Soviet Union that is to abolish intermediate-range missiles in Asia. It may be said that this is our country's unilateral action.

However, it should be noted that in taking this action, we have taken into account the conditions of various Asian and Pacific nations. It may also be said that this Soviet action serves, in a sense, as an advanced warning. At present, the United States has no intermediate-range missiles in Asia. However, we cannot say that they will never appear in this region in the future. The INF Treaty excludes this possibility. Frankly speaking, we expected that the United States would take some corresponding measures in response to the Soviet agreement to abolish its intermediate-range missiles in Asia.

We have this expectation in view of the fact that the United States has its nuclear weapons in South Korea, Japan, and the Philippines. In addition, U.S. vessels loaded with nuclear arms are cruising near Soviet coasts. However, when viewed from every angle, the United States does not appear to be planning to reduce its nuclear weapons in Asia and the Pacific region. Needless to say, it is very important to diminish nuclear confrontation on the Asian Continent. This is because Asia already experienced a burn with nuclear flames.

In the past 40 years, there have been conflicts uninterruptedly in Asia, and they always have proved to be major disasters. Realistically speaking, the issue of nuclear disarmament has become an urgent task in Asia.

We have just broadcast a commentary on the INF Treaty and security in the Asia and Pacific region by our commentator Glazunov.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

USSR 'Prepared To Reduce' Pacific Forces

HK141141 Quezon City MALAYA in English 14 Mar 88 pp 1, 7

[By Ellen Tordesillas]

[Excerpt] The Soviet Union is prepared to reduce the number of its nuclear weapons-carrying ships and submarines in the Pacific and Indian Oceans if the United States removes its military bases in the Philippines, Soviet Minister-Counsellor Alexandr P. Losyukov said recently.

Losyukov's statement is the first specific answer to what the Soviet Union would do if the US removed Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Base after the expiration of the RP [Republic of the Philippines]-U.S. Military Bases Agreement in 1991.

Losyukov did not reveal the size of the Soviet naval force in the Indian Ocean and the Pacific but the U.S. Information Service [USIS] said in one of its information brochures that of the 375 Soviet submarines, more than one-third are deployed in the Pacific. [passage omitted]

Talyzin Meets Cambodian, Lao Officials in Hanoi

LD152148 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 15 Mar 88

(From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The Soviet party-government delegation led by Comrade Talyzin today had a meeting in Hanoi with party delegations from the Kampuchean People's Republic led by Hun Sen, member of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee Political Bureau, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and the Laotian People's Democratic Republic, led by Nouhak Phoumsavan, member of the Lao People's Reovlutionary Party, Central Committee Political Bureau vice chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic.

Ryzhkov Pays Homage to Vietnam's Pham Hung

BK151617 Hanoi VNA in English 1549 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Hanoi VNA March 15—Nikolay Ryzhkov, Political Bureau member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, yesterday paid homage to the late chairman of the Council of Ministers, Pham Hung, at the Vietnamese Embassy in Moscow.

He was accompanied by Vladimir Kamentsev and Boris Shcherbina, members of the CPSU Central Committee and vice-chairmen of the Council of Ministers, and B.N. Chaplin, alternate member of the CPSU CC and deputy foreign minister.

Chairman N. Ryzhkov expressed his profound grief over the demise of chairman Pham Hung and recalled beautiful impressions on and good memories of the late chairman.

He asked Vietnamese Ambassador Nguyen Manh Cam to convey the profound condolences of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the Soviet leadership to the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee and the Vietnamese leadership.

The Vietnamese ambassador thanked the Soviet leadership for its deep condolences which have demonstrated the time-honoured friendship and close solidarity between the two parties, two states and two peoples of Vietnam and the Soviet Union.

Vietnam's Do Muoi Completes Moscow Talks

PM151319 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Working Visit"]

[Text] Do Muoi, member of the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPV Central Committee, was in Moscow on 29 February-7 March on a working visit at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. He had meetings with N.N. Slyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Gosplan; and V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission.

There was a detailed exchange of information on progress made in implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the Sixth CPV Congress and the two fraternal parties' subsequent Central Committee plenums in the sphere of economic policy, and also on the measures they have taken to radically restructure national economic management and democratize and renew all aspects of society's life.

The sides discussed a broad range of issues concerning Soviet-Vietnamese relations. They expressed their satisfaction with the present state of these relations and noted the favorable prospects for their continued development. They discussed a series of fundamental aspects of economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and Vietnam and outlined specific ways to make it more effective.

Comrade Do Muoi and the Vietnamese comrades accompanying him also had conversations at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and a number of other ministries and departments and visited the "Zavet Ilicha" Kolkhoz and Moscow's "Moskva" Sewn Goods Production Association.

Nguyen Manh Cam, SRV ambassador to the USSR, took part in the meetings and conversations, which proceeded in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan-Pakistani Talks Continue in Geneva

Government Issues Statement

PM151639 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 1

["Soviet Government Statement"]

[Text] The latest round of the Afghan-Pakistani talks on a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, which are being conducted through D. Cordovez, the UN secretary general's personal representative, began in Geneva 2 March 1988. The whole situation taking shape on the eve of the round gave grounds for believing that this round would be the last. The statements by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan clearly set forth the constructive line of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan aimed at the speediest reaching of accords in Geneva and their practical implementation. Those statements gave a specific date for the start of the Soviet troop withdrawal—15 May 1988—on the understanding that the Geneva documents would be signed no later than 15 March 1988.

During the first days of the talks that resumed in Geneva, thanks to the stand taken by the Afghan delegation, the sides agreed that the Soviet troop withdrawal would take 9 months and that half the troops would be withdrawn during the first 3 months. It would seem that there were no obstacles remaining to the signing of the documents, particularly as their elaboration had been almost completed even before the talks resumed.

However, the situation at the Geneva talks began to develop in a different direction. The talks have been at a virtual standstill for the past 10 days and are being held back by various artificially created obstacles and by various kinds of farfetched pretexts and demands. The Pakistani delegation, despite the fact that a break of several days was announced in the talks at its request, declares that it has no instructions to sign the Geneva documents and is trying its best to complicate perfectly clear questions and to evade the previously agreed decisions.

The Pakistani side has still not abandoned its attempts to link the signing of the Geneva agreements, that is, the settlement of external aspects of the Afghan problem, to the creation of a new Afghan government which it calls transitional. In other words, there are continuing attempts to use the Geneva process to interfere in the Afghans' internal affairs, and the obvious fact that only the Afghans themselves must resolve questions of their own internal system and that no one has the right to impose any decisions on them is being ignored.

Both the Pakistani and the U.S. sides have been putting forward a number of other conditions having absolutely nothing to do with the Geneva accords and constituting an attempt to dictate to the USSR and Afghanistan how they should form their bilateral relations with one another.

Having decided to procrastinate and to drag out the talks, the Pakistani and U.S. sides at the same time state that they would like the withdrawal of the Soviet troops to begin on 15 May 1988 precisely. A strange stance, to say the least. After all, both the Soviet Union and Afghanistan set that date on the assumption that the signing of the agreements on a settlement would take place no later than 15 March 1988. In that event the interval between the signing of the agreements and their entry into force would be the 2 months envisaged by the Geneva documents. There was enough time to sign the agreements before 15 March 1988. However, that did not take place. It is being said that Pakistan may sign the agreements before the end of March, but at the moment it is again avoiding concrete commitments. Those who think that they can go on avoiding the conclusion of agreements and that the date set by us for the beginning of the troop withdrawal will remain unchanged are profoundly mistaken. It is absolutely clear that if the signing of the agreements is delayed, the beginning of the Soviet troop withdrawal will also be postponed.

The Soviet Government would like to stress that by refusing to sign the agreements, Pakistan and the United States, which must also sign certain settlement documents, are assuming a responsibility for the fate of talks whose successful outcome is awaited by the Afghan people and by the other peoples of the world. Thus the solution of the Afghan problem is being delayed. The Soviet Union hopes that the final step which puts the Geneva agreements into effect will finally be taken.

Wakil Accuses Pakistan

LD161202 Moscow TASS in English 1143 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] Geneva March 16 TASS-Afghan-Pakistani talks with the mediation of Diego Cordovez, personal representative of the U.N. secretary general, were continued here today. Speaking at a press conference today in the morning, 'Abdul Wakil, minister of foreign affairs of Afghanistan, pointed out that the Pakistani side continued to put up artificial obstacles, hampering in this way a successful completion of the Geneva talks.

Cordovez Notes Progress

LD152015 Moscow TASS in English 1928 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Geneva March 15 TASS—Negotiations on Afghanistan are conducted very seriously, Diego Cordovez, the UN secretary general's personal envoy through whom the Afghan-Pakistani talks are being conducted, has said.

This indicates that the sides are not trying to reach a hasty, empty and irresponsible agreement, but are seeking a very profound treaty.

We are confronted with very complicated problems, Cordovez went on to say. But, nevertheless, we shall continue searching for solutions. All sides are declaring their intention to conclude the talks and sign an agreement.

Cordovez Interview Cited

LD160817 Moscow TASS in English 0759 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] Paris March 16 TASS—The sides at the Afghan-Pakistani talks are continuing efforts to conclude a final accord, Diego Cordovez, the personal envoy of the U.N. secretary general at the Geneva talks, said in an interview with the Paris based newspaper LIBERATION. It is not yet possible today to sign accords, since the document is not ready so far, but the talks will be continued. There are no few obstacles in the way to an agreement, he noted. Today everyone should make every effort to overcome them. We do not wish a rash artificial accord. Each of the sides display vigilance, firmness and caution, devoting attention to every nuance, Diego Cordovez stressed.

Pakistan's Junejo Interviewed

LD160917 Moscow TASS in English 1900 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] New York March 16 TASS—Speaking in an ABC television interview, Pakistani Prime Minister Mohammed Khan Junejo said that he had instructed the members of the Pakistani delegation at the talks being currently held in Geneva through the personal envoy of the U.N. secretary general that an accord be signed on a settlement around Afghanistan.

Pakistan is not against signing them, the prime minister said. As soon as work on an accord is completed it will be signed.

At the same time Junejo made it clear, as ABC noted, that albeit Pakistan would sign a Geneva accord to guarantee the return of all the Soviet troops from Afghanistan, it did not give up its stand providing for the signing of other accords, which as the Pakistanis believe, are necessary to make an accord effective. Among them the Pakistani premier named the forming in Afghanistan of a "government of consensus that would be recognized by all", the creation of a "favourable atmosphere for the return of the refugees" and the Soviet Union's renunciation of any aid or support for Afghanistan.

New Ambassador Appointed to Afghanistan

LD161132 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Nikolay Grigoryevich Yegorochev ambassador for the Soviet Union to the Republic of Afghanistan. Pavel Petrovich Mozhayev has been released from his duties as USSR ambassador in this republic in connection with his tranfer to other work.

Afghan Premier Discusses Socioeconomic Problems

LD151814 Moscow TASS in English 1558 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Kabul March 15 TASS—Prime Minister of the Republic of Afghanistan Sultan 'Ali Keshtmand has described the statements by Mikhail Gorbachev and Najibullah dated February 8, this year, as a political event, very important to Afghanistan. These documents have removed the last obstacles to signing an Afghan-Pakistani agreement in Geneva, he said, speaking at a meeting of the Council of Ministers held here.

Speaking of the political results of the outgoing Afghan year (by the Afghan calendar the year 1366 ends on March 20), the head of government underlined that it became the year of the national reconciliation policy. Nonparty people account for 76 percent of the deputies of the local organs of people's power. Approximately 25 percent of the deputies, and their number is now over 11,000, are representatives of the opposite side or returnees. 13 province governors are nonparty men and seven of them are former opponents of the government. the state fully controls most of the districts, all towns. 2,500 kishlaks [villages] came over to state control peacefully.

Most of Sultan 'Ali Keshtmand's speech was devoted to Afghanistan's socio-economic problems. In the outgoing year, he said, important steps were made towards raising the living standards of the people. State aid to workers and employees was increased, including through free-of-charge grain, flour and fat supplies. Servicemen had their wages increased. On the whole, the programme of raising the living standards of the people involved about 4 million Afghans already.

Touching upon the socio-economic development of the country this year, the prime minister said that as compared with the previous year, Afghanistan's gross national product increased by 2.4 percent, and the national income—by 2.3 percent. There is certain progress in separate branches of the economy. 260 new, small and big, economic projects are to be built and put into exploitation next year, in line with the plan of Afghanistan's socio-economic development.

Meanwhile, there are drawbacks in a number of branches of the economy, the prime minister said. The state of affairs in the freight transport is no cause for satisfaction.

The plan of industrial production at private enterprises was fulfilled only by 94.4 percent which was caused, primarily, by difficulties with raw material supplies.

Speaking of assistance from abroad, the head of the Afghan Government noted great significance of direct cooperation between Soviet republics and districts and provinces of Afghanistan.

Moscow, Kabul Sign Protocol on Direct Links

LD152117 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Excerpt] Today a protocol was signed in the Afghan capital on the further development of direct links between Moscow and Kabul for the period from 1988 to 1990. Our correspondent Aleksandr Shkirando reports from Kabul:

[Shkirando] The new protocol envisages the establishment of direct links between the Executive Committee of Mossovet and the 13 organizations in Kabul in various sectors of the town's economy, health, popular education, the development of urban transport, town cleaning, water supply and other fields. The protocol also envisages correspondents, the exchange of information materials, delegations groups of specialists between the party organizations of Moscow and Kabul, the Executive Committee of Mossovet and the Kabul assembly of people's representatives, trade union and youth organizations of both capitals, as well as between the editors of the mass media. [passage omitted]

Shultz Plan Ignores Mideast Problem's 'Essence'

PM151427 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Dispatch by own correspondent V. Lashkul: "G. Shultz' Document"]

[Text] Beirut—The Israeli newspaper YEDI'OT AHARONOT has printed the first factual report on the latest U.S. plan for a Near East settlement.

The newspaper described it as the "Shultz document," named after the U.S. secretary of state who acquainted the presidents of Syria and Egypt, the king of Jordan, and the Israeli leaders with the plan.

Judging by this document, the new U.S. proposals resemble those drawn up by the U.S. State Department for G. Shultz' first tour of Near East countries. It contains the idea of UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar's convening in April this year an international conference on a Near East settlement which would not be empowered to adopt binding decisions. It is proposed to invite representatives of the UN Security Council permanent member countries, the Syrian Arab Republic, Israel, and a mixed Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to attend this conference. The aim of the talks is, in the U.S. view, first a provisional settlement, to be followed later by a permanent settlement. The provisional settlement plan is calculated for 3 years and boils down to ending the anti-Israeli demonstrations in the Arab territories occupied by Tel Aviv and organizing elections to local self-administration organs in the Gaza sector and on the West Bank. They are scheduled for October of this year. The PLO, recognized by the world community as the only legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people, is excluded from the proposed election process.

Even the Israeli press is forced to admit that the "Shultz document" lacks specific proposals relating to the essence of a Near East settlement. Moreover the actual timetable of the proposed peace process procedure is, as Radio "Kol Israel" has noted, unrealistically tight. The PLO leadership has assessed the new U.S. proposals as an attempt to stifle the Palestinian uprising on occupied territories and to gain time for new separate, half-baked deals between Tel Aviv and the Arab states. This is declared in a statement issued by that organization in Tunis. Syria and Jordan have reacted critically to the "Shultz document."

Navy Chief Chernavin Departs for Libya

PM151711 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report under the general heading: "On a visit to Libya"]

[Text] Admiral of the Fleet V.N. Chernavin, commander in chief of the Navy and USSR deputy defense minister, left Moscow for Tripoli on an official visit 14 March.

Admiral of the Fleet V.N. Chernavin was seen off at the airport by Army General Yu.P. Maksimov, USSR deputy defense minister, and also by A.M. Maghrawi, charge d'affaires ad interim of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah in the USSR.

Further on Yazkuliyev Activities in Libya

PM160957 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Soviet Delegation's Stay"]

[Text] Tripoli, 8 Mar—On Monday, a Soviet delegation here headed by B. Yazkuliyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, met with 'Abd al-Raziq al-Sawsa, deputy general secretary of the Libyan Jamahiriyah General People's Congress, in the city of Ra's al-Unuf.

A meeting also took place with Jadallah 'Azzuz al-Talhi, secretary of the Libyan People's Bureau for Foreign Ties. In the course of the conversation satisfaction was expressed at the state of Soviet-Libyan relations, which are traditionally friendly and are based on common aims in the struggle for peace, disarmament, and the peoples' security. The mutual desire was expressed to develop

and strengthen cooperation in all spheres by devoting particular attention to the expansion of contacts between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah General People's Congress.

The head of the Soviet delegation talked in detail about the course of restructuring in the USSR, which encompasses all aspects of the life of Soviet society, and provided information about the Soviet Union's efforts to establish an all-embracing system of international peace and security. The Libyan side expressed support for the Soviet peace initiatives and for the Soviet Union's struggle to normalize the political climate and prevent a nuclear catastrophe.

The Soviet delegation made a tour of Libya in the course of which it visited the city of Banghazi and inspected the petrochemical complexes at Ra's al-Unuf and Marsa al-Burayqa' and a number of other facilities.

East Europe

Gorbachev Continues Belgrade Visit

Wreath-Laying Ceremony

LD141955 Moscow TASS in English 1945 GMT 14 Mar 88

[Text] Belgrade March 14 TASS—The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev arrived here today on an official friendly visit at the invitation of the collective Presidency of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia and the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

At the Federation House the Soviet leader had talks with the president of the collective Presidency of Yugoslavia Lazar Mojsov. The president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Bosko Krunic took part in the talks. There was a detailed exchange of views on a wide range of questions of socialist construction, bilateral relations and world politics.

In the afternoon Mikhail Gorbachev visited the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier on Mount Avala near Belgrade.

The general secretary also visited a monument on Mount Avala to Soviet senior officers who died in an air crash when flying to Belgrade to attend the 20th anniversary of the liberation of the Yugoslav capital from the fascist occupationists.

The Soviet leader also inspected a memorial cemetery of Soviet and Yugoslav soldiers who fell liberating Belgrade from the fascists.

When visiting the memorial complex and monuments Mikhail Gorbachev laid wreaths and flowers and made entries in distinguished visitors' books.

Tens of thousands of local residents warmly greeted the general secretary as his motorcade drove from Mount Avala to the memorial cemetery. It so happened that the first stop was made at the intersection of Marshall Tito and Prince Milos streets where on the day Belgrade was liberated a Soviet woman traffic officer helped the movement of Army convoys heading to liberate the country from the Nazi occupationists. Mikhail Gorbachev warmly greeted the residents of Belgrade, wished them good health and every success.

Mikhail Gorbachev's second meeting with Belgraders took place in a square near the memorial cemetery. Addressing them Mikhail Gorbachev conveyed heartfelt greetings and best wishes from Soviet people. He assured them that Soviet people have always felt sincere feelings of love, friendship and respect for the peoples of Yugoslavia. "We rejoice that we have good relations now and I think they will become still better", the Soviet leader stressed. "We can be proud of our common history. The older and the present generations have done much for this. But still more should be done. I wish you big successes".

Raisa Gorbachev Visits Museum

AU141923 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 14 Mar 88

[Text] The wife of Soviet party leader Mikhail Gorbachev, Raisa Gorbachev, this afternoon visited the National Museum in Belgrade. A brief report on her meeting with the representatives of the cultural and art life and the citizens of Belgrade was prepared by Olivija Rusovac:

Comrade Raisa Gorbachev this afternoon visited the National Museum. She arrived there just after 1730. Prior to visiting the museum, and this was not a part of the planned itinerary, she went over to a large group of people gathered on the opposite side of the museum. She was very cordially greeted by these ordinary people. In the museum, Comrade Gorbachev was greeted by Director Jefta Jeftovic, and then museum custodian Nikola Kusovac showed her the gallery. After viewing the paintings, personalities of Belgrade cultural and art life were introduced to Comrade Gorbachev. She also met with—Ljubisa Samrdzic [actor]. Let us hear how this meeting went: [recording of the conversation unmonitorable]

Comrade Raisa Gorbachev was represented with a small gift in the museum, a replica of an old ring. When leaving she was again met by a group of Belgrade citizens who greeted her with cordial applause. She again went over to them.

Visit to Tito Memorial

LD160014 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] The official, friendly visit to Yugoslavia by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is continuing. Our special correspondents report from Belgrade:

[Video report by correspondents A. Korzin, Yu. Ulyanov, and A. Shakin—identified by caption] The Josip Broz Tito Memorial Center in Belgrade. There are numerous documents kept here connected with the name of the eminent figure of the international Communist movement. Also here is the grave of Broz Tito. A guard of honor is drawn up by the sarcophagus. This morning the memorial center was visited by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

A note is made in the book for guests of honor [video shows Gorbachev and Raisa with accompanying party entering room where guest book is kept. They sign their names]

Broz Tito lived and worked in this building for over 35 years. Many of the exhibits kept here tell of the joint struggle of the Soviet and Yugoslav peoples against fascism, about how, as the result of the national liberation movement and the socialist revolution in Yugoslavia, the power of workers and peasants was established, about the methods of construction of socialism in the country on the foundations of self-management. The Soviet guests imspected the memorial center. Here is the study of Josip Broz Tito [Video shows Gorbachev party viewing exhibits at the center]

In memory of his visit to the Josip Broz Tito Memorial Center, Comrade Gorbachev was presented with a book of the memorial and a souvenir badge.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] Thank you.

[Unidentified Yugoslav official in Serbo-Croatian with Russian translation provided by interpreters] Allow us also, in memory, to present to you as a memento an emblem, a badge, of the memorial center of Josip Broz Tito. Thank you once again.

[Gorbachev] Thank you. I am very glad that I have been here on a visit today, where Comrade Tito, actually, after the victory of the revolution, lived and worked constantly. For me this is very important, primarily because I wanted to express my respect and the deep respect of our party and of our people for Comrade Tito, for his work, and for the Communists of Yugoslavia and the people of Yugoslavia, for everything that has been done, achieved, by the struggle of the people under the leadership of the League of Communists, Comrade Tito and his comrades-in-arms. That is a great time, a crucial time, in the history, the centuries-long history of Yugoslavia. I understand why the peoples of Yugoslavia honor the memory of Comrade Tito with such respect.

Comrade Tito was a great friend of the Soviet Union over a period of many decades, starting from October, and our people have a vivid memory of him, and for this reason I would like to say once again that it is not just my simple human curiosity, but first and foremost to fulfill my party duty to visit the memorial to Comrade Tito. Thank you. [end recording]

'Chosen' Words on Tito

LD151025 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1003 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Belgrade, 15 March (TANJUG)—General Secretary of the CPSU CC Mikhail Gorbachev today laid flowers at the grave of Josip Broz Tito and signed his name in the visitors' book at the House of Flowers.

Gorbachev, accompanied by his wife Raisa, also toured the residence of the late Yugoslav president. On this occasion the general secretary of the CPSU CC, with carefully chosen words, spoke about the personality and work of President Tito.

Gorbachev: Talks Friendly

LD151221 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1154 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Mar (TANJUG)—Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, assessed talks with Yugoslav leaders as very substantial, open, and friendly. Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that Yugoslavia and the USSR act in the international arena independently, as independent countries. It is necessary for us to mutually cooperate further in the struggle for peace and the recovery of international relations.

During a short, spontaneous meeting with journalists in the Park of Friendship in Novi Beograd, where he planted a tree of peace, Mikhail Gorbachev also said that talks were developing well. We have begun a good task, said Gorbachev, and expressed the conviction that the forthcoming talks would also be held in the same spirit and that they would contribute to the development of friendship between the two countries. He emphasized that practically all areas of bilateral relations were being discussed, as well as topical international issues.

The CPSU Central Committee general secretary planted a cedar tree in the Park of Friendship, where he was met and greeted by Aleksandar Bakocevic, president of the city assembly, and other officials. Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife Raisa spent a short time in conversation with nature conservation club members and signed a visitors' book. Gorbachev said, among other things, that the planting of trees was a good tradition, which had started on the occasion of the first gathering of statesmen from nonaligned countries who had come to Belgrade to discuss peace and friendship.

'Open, Lively' Dialogue

LD142000 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1934 GMT 14 Mar 88

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—The first joint assessment of the talks between Gorbachev and Mojsov, reported this evening to Yugoslav and foreign journalists

in the Sava Center, states that this was a truly open and lively dialogue in which opinions were exchanged on a series of questions in a cordial, direct, and friendly atmosphere.

Lazar Mojsov and Mikhail Gorbachev, it was stated, discussed relations between the two countries, and socio-economic trends in Yugoslavia and the USSR. Both sides stated that relations between Yugoslavia and the USSR are based on a rich tradition, which has been made richer in the last few decades by important developments in all spheres.

Spokesman on 'Successful' Talks

LD160703 Moscow TASS in English 0606 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] Belgrade March 16 TASS—The Soviet-Yugoslav summit talks at the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia were held in an atmosphere of friendship, mutual understanding and complete frankness, Marko Lolic, executive secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee, said at a briefing held here on Tuesday for Yugoslav and foreign journalists.

The talks continued beyond schedule. The sides held a broad exchange of views on many subjects of mutual interest. The talks centred on cooperation between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which both sides—Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev and Comrade Bosko Krunic—described as very successful and as having prospects for the further development and upgrading on the basis of the principles that have stood the test of time.

The sides exchanged information on the activities of ithe CPSU and the LCY in their countries at the current stage of socialist construction and spoke about responsibility and initiative in party work.

They paid much attention to the situation in the world socialist system, in the working-class and other progressive movements in the world.

The conversation was very frank and lively, marked by no formal approach to information exchanges, which had been typical of international contacts some time ago. Subjects discussed changed one another. [sentence as received]

The conversation passed in an atmosphere of complete mutual understanding and respect, which characterises cooperation between the two parties and which is an important factor in all-round and stable Soviet-Yugoslav relations and in the strengthening of friendship between the peoples of the two countries.

Lolic said the talks had shown the existence of new opportunities for the exchange of opinions, for the development of cooperation between institutes, academies and higher educational establishments of the two countries and between the bodies of party press, for holding discussions on certain subjects of mutual interest.

During the talks the sides pointed out the successful implementation of a programme for interparty cooperation.

Tree Planting Ceremony

LD152140 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 15 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

Meetings took place yesterday between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and inhabitants of the Yugoslav capital. [Video shows Gorbachev and Raisa Gorbacheva in a crowd of people]

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] Feelings of friendship and respect for Yugoslavia and its peoples have always been maintained. [applause from crowd] [passage omitted]

[Gorbachev, standing next to Raisa Gorbacheva in front of the tree he has just planted, addressing youngsters] If a man can even do as much as grow a tree during his lifetime, then he has not lived his life in vain: If there is anyone who does not know that, then I'm glad, just remember it now. But you look after a whole park, and if one can grow a park, with as many trees as there are here—and a special park, at that, one linked with friendship of peoples, dedicated to the fact that there was once a meeting here—when was it, in (?1920) [words indistinct]—on the initiative of Comrade Tito and your country, here a big movement began, called the Non-aligned Movement, which unites many countries in the world. You have taken this park under your care. If you don't mind, Raisa Maksimovna and I would like to have a photograph taken with you, with our delegation, too.

[Voice from crowd] What are your first impressions?

[Gorbachev] Very good impressions. Now we shall continue our talks with Comrade Krunic. We are discussing everything, in a friendly atmosphere, in a frank and businesslike atmosphere, issues relating to our bilateral relations and also those concerning political dialogue, and economy, cultural ties, development of contacts between people, republics, and regions, and between scientists. Of course we are devoting a great deal of time to issues of international politics. Each of our countries acts independently and autonomously. Nevertheless, profound mutual understanding emerged yesterday. We felt there is a need for continued mutual cooperation and

for uniting efforts in the struggle for peace and disarmament and for improvement in international relations. Thank you, comrades, for your...[incomplete sentence as heard] [end recording]

Gorbachev on Nationalities

PM161129 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Soviet-Yugoslav Talks"]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 15 Mar—In the Federal Chamber on Monday talks began between M.S. Gorbachev and the Yugoslav leadership. [passage omitted]

Before the beginning of the talks M.S. Gorbachev answered Yugoslav and foreign journalists' questions.

[Question] How do you assess the state of Soviet-Yugoslav relations?

[Answer] Our relations with Yugoslavia have deep historical roots. In recent decades they have been developing very well, and extensive ties are being implemented between republics, enterprises, families and young people.

[Question] In Yugoslavia there are also problems of a national nature, as there are in your country. Will you be discussing these problems?

[Answer] Tell me where there are no problems; name me such a country. I want to fly there immediately after Yugoslavia, without calling in at Moscow.

[Question] Do national problems in the Soviet Union worry you?

[Answer] You know, we are going through that stage of life in all socialist countries when we are producing first and foremost an interpretation of the entire history which we have experienced, and we are drawing lessons from it. It is never too late to learn.

We really do have something to exchange opinions about. I think that it will be very interesting to get to know each other, to get to know the assessment of socialism's development and its mutual ties with other parts of the world. In any case, we have a lot to talk about.

And, so that you do not think I am avoiding the national question, I shall answer you.

Many nationalities have lived for centuries in such countries as the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. And this, on the one hand, is a great wealth but, on the other, demands constant attention to these questions on the part of state organs and the creation of such conditions that all peoples feel well in the common home, and moreover equal too as regards the economy and social sphere, culture, language, and literature. Those places where there are shortcomings, and where attention slips, make it known.

What happened in Armenia, what was in question in Azerbaijan? What was it about? No one raised the question either of Soviet power or withdrawal from the Soviet state, nor of socialism: No! Both the role of the party and the policy which it has carried out since Lenin in the sphere of national relations were recognized. The point is that there are cultural and ethnic questions which recently have been overlooked. Problems have accumulated. This is what was in question.

Gorbachev Meets With Krunic

LD151241 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1145 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Mar (TASS special correspondent)—Talks continued today at the LCY Central Committee between the CPSU Central Committee general secretary and the Yugoslav leadership. M.S. Gorbachev and Bosko Krunic, president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee had a thorough exchange of opinions, which was of mutual interest [zainteresovanyy] on topical issues of the activities of the CPSU and the LCY, on the state of and prospects for developing relations between the two parties and countries, and on key problems of the modern age and of the international Communist and workers' movement.

Dwelling on the restructuring taking place in the USSR, M.S. Gorbachev stressed that it is being implemented on the initiative of the CPSU and under its effective leadership. He talked about forms and methods of organizational, ideological, and political-educational work by the party and about the tasks facing it in safeguarding success in carrying out radical economic reform, implementing the principles of self-management, strengthening the processes of democratization and glasnost, and asserting social justice in accordance with the aims of the revolutionary renewal of Soviet society.

Having spoken highly of the level achieved in cooperation between the CPSU and the LCY, cooperation that is the lasting and reliable pivot in Soviet-Yugoslav relations, M.S. Gorbachev and B. Krunic stressed that they attribute especially important significance to further expanding interparty ties, developing new forms and directions for them, and deepening the exchange of opinions on topical questions of the theory and practice of socialist construction.

Speaks at Factory

LD152252 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Speech By CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev during a visit to the Ivo Dola Ribar Factory in Belgrade 15 March; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Dear Yugoslav friends, allow me first to cordially thank you for the warmth that we have felt these 2 days on your part toward the delegation and toward the visit. We have been very touched by this.

This is the main impression of the first 2 days of our stay on hospitable Yugoslav soil. Our friendship—between our parties, between our peoples, between our working classes is the main thing that underlies the fact that any contact, any meeting on Yugoslav soil is accompanied by warmth, sincerity, and goodwill. I wish to assure you that Soviet people—Communists and nonparty members alike, working people, adults, and young children—are devoted to this friendship, value it, highly appreciate it, do everything to preserve and develop it, and will do everything so that this friendship may be strengthened. You can rest assured of that. [applause]

I am glad to be here in your association. I warmly greet you on behalf of our delegation and myself personally, above all because we know that Dola Ribar is the firstborn of People's Yugoslavia, the first industrial plant of People's Yugoslavia. Your enterprise demonstrates, and in a very convincing way, the achievements of People's Yugoslavia, the achievements of socialism, and I congratulate you on these achievements. You know how to work—people are familiar with your products and highly value them. I think that there is no need for you to be bigheaded, though you are justified in feeling proud. I wish you great new successes. [applause]

But there's another reason I like being here with you: because, at the same time, your association demonstrates just how varied and close the links have become between our countries and between our peoples. As if in passing, Comrade Milojevic here ran through a list—Moscow, Zaporozhye, Chernigov, and other cities. These links embrace half the country! This indicates the sheer scale assumed by the cooperation between us. I am certain this cooperation is useful to both of us; it makes it possible for us to proceed together with confidence, arm in arm, each sensing the other at his side. Through joint effort—perhaps precisely through joint effort—we shall cope with the difficulties more successfully and rapidly and together get onto the highway of progress. A great deal of effort is required of us now, but I am confident that this effort is necessary today and that our peoples will particularly experience the benefits of this effort in the future. Let us do everything that the present situation requires of us! We are confident that socialism possesses enormous capabilities, above all because socialism, if correct use is made of all that it comprises—or, as we say, of the potential of the socialist system, the working people's system—socialism possesses the wonderful resource of people's activeness—productive, political, and social activeness. It is with the support of this activeness and by stimulating it that we should solve today's complicated tasks. We are capable of doing so, and I am confident that we shall solve them.

Our visit confirms the high level of our cooperation. I would say this to you: That is my first account of the impressions I am forming of my visit. Yesterday we had very substantive and lengthy discussions, an exchange of views and information in the SFRY Presidium with the delegation headed by Comrade Mojsov. Today, the talks continued in the LCY Central Committee with the LCY leadership headed by Comrade Krunic. We are very satisfied with these talks. Above all, because at the talks we have not restricted ourselves only to ascertaining what has been done—that which serves our peoples and our countries, socialism, and I would go as far as to say the establishment of healthy relations in the world—for the example of Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation is one worthy of being noted on a worldwide scale as well. While taking note of all this, we nevertheless devoted our talks primarily and mainly to that which has to be done to ensure that our cooperation expands, strengthens, becomes deeper, and embraces political dialogue, economic cooperation, and cooperation in the fields of science and culture at the federal level, the regional level, the enterprise level, and the level of personal contacts. In this way great opportunities are appearing for us to advance in our cooperation. I consider this to be a great achievement of our cooperation and a great realization of the importance of such cooperation on both sides. I think we can congratulate ourselves because our relations have entered a phase of intensive dialogue and intensive development, and I think this can only be a source of joy to all of us.

We devoted a great deal of time to discussing the world situation. In that connection we discussed how we should best interact to facilitate the growth of the disarmament processes, for the peoples' struggle to eliminate nuclear weapons to gain in strength, and to reduce other types of weapons—both chemical and conventional weapons. We discussed topical issues connected with restructuring world economic links with the aim of improving them.

As you can see, we had a very serious discussion touching on very burning problems relating both to our bilateral links, to problems connected with the development of present-day socialism, and to the most topical issues in world politics. I would like to assure you that we shall do everything so that cooperation between our peoples, between our countries, between the USSR and SFRY working classes, and between our parties gains in strength and grows on the basis of equality, respect, mutual understanding, and noninterference in internal affairs, on a friendly, principled basis, and on the fact that we are united by common goals and high ideals.

I ask you to accept this as a first account of what we and the Yugoslav leadership did in the almost 2 days that have passed. I think that, in acting in this way, both the Soviet delegation and the Yugoslav leadership did the main thing: They expressed the will of the people of

Yugoslavia and of the peoples of the Soviet Union who are ardently coming out in favor of strengthening friendship and of developing our ties in every possible way. [applause]

Here in this production collective I wish to say only a few words perhaps regarding economic cooperation. Yes, we are cooperating successfully. Nevertheless, our cooperation is now most of all one of trade, in nature. But today, on trade alone, say, as the saying goes at home in Russia, you don't travel far. What is needed is coordination of joint production. What is needed is sensible distribution of labor and setting it to rights. What is needed is scientific and technical cooperation and mutual complementarity. Then we will tackle more successfully the tasks that are facing both Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, and the entire socialist world.

I think that what we are negotiating about at present is precisely aimed at imparting such a nature to our cooperation. This, comrades, will be a turning point in our cooperation. Certainly it is not so easy to make economic mechanisms, price mechanisms, technological approaches, competence, and ways of thinking compatible with one another. This is not easy. But, only by taking this path will we be able to build up the pace and advance to the level of leading countries.

The Soviet Union is now doing a very great deal to restructure its economy. I wish to thank you, dear Comrade Mikhail, my namesake, for the words in which you expressed your support for our restructuring, for our struggle, our difficult struggle, for the restructuring of our society. I wish to tell you that this is a large-scale, revolutionary work which we got underway in this huge country, which we love, to which we are devoted, and to which we dedicate our lives and our intellectual and physical strength. Restructuring is a policy we ourselves chose. It is what we need. But in connection with the fact that the Soviet Union is a huge country, in connection with the fact that everything taking place in this huge country exerts its influence both on the socialist world and on the entire world, this means our restructuring will also be of immense importance for the entire world. We have started this work underway on a large scale.

There is no turning back for us. It is not just that there is no turning back. We cannot even stop. For, of late I have said on more than one occasion: It is very dangerous to stop now. We have only one possible choice: To proceed confidently—of course without adventures, without great leaps and without jumping over stages—but to proceed firmly and consistently along the chosen path. Our path can be described virtually in a few words. It is a path of democratization of society, to involve all forces of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, intelligentsia, young people, and veterans; to involve all forces of our society in the restructuring, in the renewal of our society—the socialist society; and moreover, in the renewal of all aspects of life—material, spiritual, and cultural.

After all, our country as well as your country are the countries where many peoples are living. More than 100 nationalities are living in the expanses of the Soviet Union. The republics, the autonomous republics, the autonomous oblasts, the national okrugs—all this is a real life of our country. The Soviet Union would not be able to achieve what it has achieved and it would not be able to gain such a place in the world if [no subject as heard] were not tackled consistently and from the correct standpoints, from the standpoint of common interest, and from the standpoint of equality among peoples. Precisely such an approach has made it possible to develop all the republics and ensure their cooperation within the framework of the unified multinational state and of the big national-economy complex.

But nowadays these tasks are acquiring a new sound. All republics have received enormous development. They are educated peoples. In each republic its own national intelligentsia has developed, self-respect of each people has been strengthened. Today we cannot tackle a single question without taking into consideration the situation in the republics, without taking into consideration the interests of each nation and each people living in the vast expanses of our country. Where we forget about this, the events there remind us of this. I think you also have such an experience. We and you cannot escape from this fact because we are living in multinational states. We are also devoting great attention to these questions in the course of restructuring.

So, this is, as a matter of fact, all. One should add to this: Since we are drawing up such plans for the future, in the interests of our people, we want broad cooperation first and foremost with the peoples of the socialist countries, to interact with them in all directions. But we also want peace to be preserved and strengthened in the whole world. I think you have sensed that we are not simply speaking about our desire to strive for peace, but that we are striving to transform our desire into a realistic policy, into realistic initiatives in all directions in the struggle for the improvement of the international situation. This is really the main thing we are striving for by implementing the restructuring plans, by formulating and by following the new thinking at this stage of the development of Soviet society.

I would like to say once again we are feeling more confident, because our friends in the socialist countries are with us on this path of the renewal of the socialist society; we are feeling each other's proximity and each other's support. I would like to conclude—as we are in Yugoslavia—by saying that we highly praise both our friendship and our cooperation with your people, your country, and your party. Thank you for attention. [applause]

Documents Adopted

LD152010 Moscow TASS in English 1940 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Belgrade March 15 TASS—A Soviet-Yugoslav declaration was adopted today at a ceremony in the

federation house in the presence of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Vadim Medvedev, president of Yugoslavia's collective Presidency Lazar Mojsov, chairman of the Central Committee of the LCY Bosko Krunic.

A long-term programme of economic cooperation between the USSR and Yugoslavia in the period to the year 2000 was signed by deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Ivan Silayev and Vice President of the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia Janez Zemljaric.

Also signed were an agreement on Yugoslavia's information and cultural centre in Moscow and an agreement on the mutual recognition of documents on education and scientific degrees.

Mojsov Toasts Gorbachev

LD151908 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1508 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Mar (TANJUG)—Yugoslav-Soviet political dialogues—at all levels and in all areas—are today being enriched with new content and given new stimuli. The principles that we formulated jointly in the Belgrade and Moscow Declaration remain the essence of the long tradition in our relations and the main basic motivating force for all its achievements. The lasting value of these universal principles is being reaffirmed again today by the adoption of a new declaration that contains the vision of both our future relations and of the path toward a world of peace, security, and progress, said Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, in his toast at a formal dinner in honor of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and his wife.

Addressing his guests from the Soviet Union and others present, Lazar Mojsov said:

Respected Comrade General Secretary,

Esteemed Comrade Raisa Gorbachev,

Comrades,

It is my pleasant duty and great personal satisfaction to greet you on behalf of the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium and to wish you—on this occasion again—an enjoyable stay in our country.

During your visit and the meeting that you are going to have, we wish, in addition to the talks we have already had and to which we attach particular importance, to inform you more directly about the nature of our self-managing federal socialist community. We also would like to tell you about efforts that are preoccupying our working people, the LC, and all our nations and nationalities. In other words we want you to get to know better this country that, in its development, has encountered resistance and delays but that, nevertheless, has continued to aspire toward moving forward. This is a country of socialist revolution that values its achievements and principles, its sacrifices, in the same way that it values these in others.

At this moment we will again recall our joint struggle and the enormous casualties we both suffered in World War II. We would also like to remember the friendship forged in those difficult days. We will always remember the glorious days of the October Revolution, those unforgettable historic events in which tens of thousands of revolutionaries from among Yugoslav nations, including the young Josip Broz, took part. Some of them, such as Danilo Srdic and Aleksa Dundic, became famous commanders of the Red Army. In any case, how can we ever forget the words that Yugoslav Communists addressed to the Yugoslav people on the day the Soviet Union was attacked, 22 June 1941? The Yugoslav people were asked to do their utmost to help the Soviet Union's struggle against the fascist aggressor, the struggle that was inseperable from the struggle for their own freedom.

You will have the opportunity to see how deeply rooted freedom, independence, brotherhood and unity, socialist self-management, and nonalignment are in these parts, and to what extent Tito's path has become our affirmed and lasting option. Our overall experience, the awareness that permeates us, and the tasks facing us allow no alternatives. We speak openly and critically about the many difficulties we have encountered at the present stage of our development, and at the same time we openly speak of the directions we can rely on in our long and complex path of developing an increasingly free, more just and prosperous life for all Yugoslav citizens.

Experience learned from others always serves to enrich one's own thoughts. With great interest and, indeed, with great appreciation we have been monitoring the latest, different trends in the Soviet Union in both theory and practice and in everyday life and work. In this respect we highly value your personal contribution, Comrade Gorbachev, to the treasure trove of socialist thought and practice in the democratic development of socialist relations in the Soviet Union and to the efforts toward changing the general climate in international relations. In this we see the essence of the far-reaching transformation inaugurated by the policy of perestroyka in your country.

Our attitude is the same toward the processes taking place on a global scale, on the world scene in general, as well as in other socialist countries. Each new idea about ways to build socialism is of vital importance, inasmuch as it provides specific answers to the problems of specific societies in the present-day world. From this stems the diversity of forms and experiences in which socialism, as

a world process, is developing on the basis of the lasting and unextinguishable aspirations of all the people in the world to follow the path of freedom and comprehensive emancipation.

Comrades,

On all occasions and at all meetings, we rightly emphasize the long tradition in our relations that, despite some stumbling blocks, have for decades been developing comprehensively and successfully. We place the emphasis with unnegligable satisfaction and not without special reasons. For, the principles we formulated jointly in the distant years of 1955 and 1956 in the Belgrade and Moscow declarations remain the essence of the long tradition, as its basis and motivating force for all its achievements. The lasting value of these unviersal principles is being reaffirmed again today by the adoption of a new declaration that envisions both our future relations and the path toward a world of peace, security, and progress.

What we have achieved in our relations also enables us, with openness and proper respect for the experience and lessons of the past, to remember the difficult period of four decades ago. This enables us to establish in a responsible way and also with satisfaction that the stands on the equality of states, peoples, and parties, the right of each people to choose its own roads of development, of each party to have its own views and practice, on the nonexistence of anyone's monopoly on truth, self-management, freedom, and man's happiness as the essence of socialism and progressive social order have penetrated and become widely understood and accepted. In all this, Comrade Gorbachev, you will also recognize a part of what you call "new thinking" for which you personally, the CPSU and the Soviet Union have deservedly gained recognition in the world.

Therefore it can be rightly said that Yugoslav-Soviet political dialogues—at all levels, in all fields—are today also acquiring new content and stimulus, as is convincingly confirmed by our present talks in Belgrade and in the next few days in all other places where you will be our guest. These mutual contacts serve to enrich our mutual discussions and experience in the building of socialism and its further affirmation.

Our economic cooperation has often been highly assessed—as it is again. And this is right. However, we can achieve more, especially in coming years. I am referring to our mutual capacities and resources, our proven complementary nature, and the creative potential to find more dynamic forms in economic, industrial, scientific, and technical cooperation, as well as forms closer to the contemporary trends and processes of world developments. In this context it is obvious that we should eliminate as soon as possible the known obstacles to further all-around development of overall economic relations.

Good results attained in our scientific cooperation, culture, education, and information can be even better and even more useful to man's need to exchange spiritual achievements with other people, thus giving a constantly new and fresh stimulus to the acquaintance and rapprochement of our peoples.

Ultimately, the world is one. The law of general social progress has always played its role, either quickly or slowly, with its delays or accelerations. If it is today, on the eve of the 21st century, facing yet another historic turning point because of the stormy development of production forces and new technology, it is clear why, according to the law of social progress and with the aim of achieving new and more humane relations, all the peoples of the world are making broad demands for democratization of social and international relations.

Together with other nonaligned countries, Yugoslavia is actively striving for such a new system of human relations, for this very necessary democratization, for the legitimate right of all to decide on their destiny and problems that concern them and affect their vital interests, for the conduct of international relations where resolving conflicts does not consist of force, interference, and intervnetion, and where all disputes are solved peacefully through negotiations. These represent for us the basic preconditions for the solution of every world crisis.

The first and most urgent task of the efforts to build more secure international relations is to halt the process of rearmament. The Soviet-U.S. agreement on intermediate- and short-range missiles is already seen as an unprecedented historic opportunity. And truly so. Not only because this very important act achieved through negotiations will for the first time in more than 40 years result in a reduction of nuclear arsenals, but also because it will have a much wider political and psychological effect. This means that a different way must and can be found to achieve reliable peace and security for all peoples in the world, for a world without arms.

However, if global relations—as regards detente, cooperation, and reaching agreement—have started to move in such a desirable direction, can this direction be successful, can it be lasting, unless it includes questions of development as an essential global problem of international relations as well as of general progress in the world? The problem of an enormous and increasing economic gap in the world, which has already assumed dramatic proportions, carries with it all those dangerous consequences that could endanger the entire world. It embraces all aspects of possible future shocks. Development is a new name for peace. The solution of this problem is therefore of decisive importance for present relations and the future fate of the world and represents another imperative facing the international community.

The SFRY sees these commitments and this direction of its activity, resulting from the policy of nonalignment, as an expression of our convictions and as its duty to those socialist ideals of a peace-loving and just world that inspired us during the revolution and that still represent an inexhaustible inspiration to us.

Finally, all existing crises are the consequence of interference and nonrecognition of the legitimate right of each people to choose without obstruction the forms of its development and its international commitments. Therefore, recognition and respect of these rights represent the only way to solve these crises and the only way out of this long period of instability in the world.

Of course, processes on our European continent attract our special attention. We consider that a balanced and consistent application of the Final Act of the CSCE and new measures of confidence and cooperation in the spirit of Helsinki, as well as later meetings in Belgrade, Madrid, and now in Vienna, are a good way for various divisions to give way to cooperation. These agreements meet the needs of all European countries. In addition, they mean that fear, resulting from division and confrontation, gives way to greater confidence.

These aims should also be served by the new spirit of cooperation and greater mutual trust among the Balkan countries expressed at the recent ministerial meeting in Belgrade. We would like the many differences that exist between them, and those that result from different social systems and international positions, as well as those based on the difficult historical inheritance, to have less expression in the procession of strengthening good-neighborly relations and in the numerous and ever more meaningful forms of inter-Balkan cooperation.

I would also like to point out the need for the Mediterranean to become an area where, through the activity of the countries of this region, peace, security, and all-around cooperation will become a reality that is supplemented and mutually permeated with the positive processes on the European continent.

Esteemed Comrade Gorbachev,

Allow me once again to express great pleasure about your visit and satisfaction about the constructive talks we are holding. Let me also repeat the hope concerning mutually still more favorable prospects and fruitful equal cooperation between our two socialist countries, as well as between the LCY and the CPSU. In their importance, our relations have transcended the borders of our two countries. We believe that the favorable development of these relations will continue to represent an encouragement and example in the implementation of the high principles that we embodied in the declaration we have just adopted, and that we also see as our message to the world. We also consider it a contribution to the general efforts to achieve more secure and just international relations. This is in the interest of the progress of all countries and peoples, of general progress, and of the affirmation of socialism.

In conclusion, allow me to raise this glass to your health, to the health of the esteemed Comrade Raisa Gorbachev and your associates, to the new successes of the friendly Soviet people in the further transformation of their country, to still richer cooperation and friendship between the peoples of our countries, to the fruitful cooperation and successful implementation of the set tasks in all fields of the SFRY and the USSR.

Gorbachev Gives Dinner Toast

PM161135 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 March 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS Report under the general headline "In the Soviet Leader's Honor"]

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Mar (TANJUG)—Our conversation was open, comradely, and businesslike, and we hope it will give a good stimulus to the entire complex of Soviet-Yugoslav relations. This will also be facilitated by the declaration we have adopted, which defines all the main tenets of the historic documents from the years 1955-56 and the whole wealth of experiences accumulated over the decades since then, as well as the significant changes that have occurred in the world around us. In fact, the main characteristic of the present historical moment is the fact that the process of transformation and reform is spreading in the socialist world, Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said. In reply to a toast by Lazar Mojsov at a festive dinner held in the Palace of the Federation this evening by the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium in his honor, Gorbachev said:

Esteemed Comrade Mojsov, Esteemed Comrade Krunic, dear friends:

From the first moments of our stay on Yugoslav soil we have been aware of an atmosphere of cordiality and amicability and a very friendly attitude toward us.

On my own behalf, and on behalf of my comrades, I should like to sincerely thank the Yugoslav leaders and inhabitants of Belgrade for their hospitality and cordial welcome, and for the good sentiments expressed toward the Soviet people.

in the course of our talks in the SFRY Presidency and in the LCY Central Committee, we have had a detailed exchange of opinions with our Yugoslav comrades on the widest circle of issues.

We have talked about the history of our relations, about the world in which we live, and about the prospects for our socialist societies.

In a word, it was a frank [otkrovennyy], comradely, businesslike conversation which will, we hope, give a good stimulus to the entire package of Soviet-Yugoslav relations.

This will undoubtedly also be facilitated by the declaration that we have adopted, which records all the basic tenets of the historic documents from the years 1955-56. At the same time, it reflects the rich experience accumulated in the decades since then and the significant changes that have come about in the world around us.

We share the opinion of Yugoslav leaders that this document offers a good basis for the development of Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation for years ahead.

To engage in a creative search for new sources, stretch the threads of mutual links, and make the forms of joint efforts more diverse—these are our common intentions.

As concerns the economy, the time has come when relations built on the principle of simple goods exchange—you to us, we to you—must be replaced by more mature relations based upon pooling efforts, making use of partners' stronger sides, and industrial cooperation.

Cooperation is the true symbol of the times. Today the potential of every country, its stability and ability to surmount the changeable winds of the world economic situation, depend to a large degreee upon that country's valency—as chemists would say—its ability to create compounds and fruitful mutual links.

The key place in our talks with our Yugoslav comrades was probably given to the most topical problems today that profoundly affect the interests of our states, to what now occupies the interest of our people. I have in mind the question of giving new quality to the socialist society.

The main characteristic, in fact, of the present historical moment is the fact that in the socialist world a process f transformation and reform is spreading that should give the new social order a second wind and raise it to a higher level in every respect—economic, political, and ideological.

This process is, naturally, developing in different ways. In each country it has national particularities, and this in itself demonstrates the incorrectness of the idea of socialism as a uniform society incapable of self-development and renewal.

We profoundly believe in the future of socialism. Of course, the restructuring that we have begun in the Soviet Union will demand great creative efforts from the party and people, and will last a long time.

But we are convinced that we have chosen the correct path, which will make it possible substantially to improve people's living conditions and to endow the socialist idea itself with fresh power of attraction.

Comrades! Particular attention was naturally given in the talks which have been held to those spheres of international life where the interests of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia come into direct contact: in the first place, to topical problems of the struggle for peace and disarmament, the situation in Europe, and the role of the nonaligned states in world policy.

Since the first conference held here in Belgrade, this movement has traversed a great and difficult path. It has grown many times in size, and has consolidated its international authority.

Its greatest achievement is perhaps that in spite of their social and political differences, the non-aligned states act from uniform positions in the fundamental issues of the present day.

These are disarmament, support for the peoples' struggle for freedom and independence, for a restructuring of economic relations on just principles, the affirmation of a new information order, and so forth.

It is precisely thanks to such consistency that the movement is playing an increasingly pronounced positive role in world affairs, and is having a growing influence on the decisions of the United Nations and other international forums.

The Soviet Union has many good friends among the nonaligned states. We respect their status and try to take account of the stands of the movement as a great political force of the present day.

In today's world, which is mutually linked and at the same time mutually opposed, burdened by acute global problems, and swamped with means of mass destruction, we all have a no more important task than that of preventing the threat of war.

The first, though still only small, step has now been made in this direction. But in order for others to follow it, a high level of political responsibility on the part of each and every one is necessary.

We openly and unhesitatingly express our negative attitude to the attempts by individual political forces in the West to compensate for the disarmament which has begun by new, additional rearmament.

However, as soon as we start to talk about that, the Western press raises a hullabaloo alleging that the Soviet Union wants to drive a wedge between the United States and NATO and between other members of the bloc.

I have already said, and shall repeat once again: we have never had and do not have any such intentions.

We are only against deepening the divisions on the continent. We advocate building and establishing a common European home truly comfortable for the life of the peoples.

For this, a well-thought-out, inspiring, yet at the same time realistic concept is required, above all.

Of course, the creation of such a concept of the European future can be only the result of creative work by all European countries.

Non-Europeans can make a contribution to this, too. Our ideas about the wholeness of the continent are far from the idea of it being exclusive, and are far from Eurocentrism.

This work is not starting from scratch. It is founded upon a great deal which has already been engendered in the course of the Helsinki process. The question is what to do next.

Here, it is more essential than anywhere else first and foremost to reduce the arsenal of nuclear, chemical, and conventional weapons. Security can only be equal for all, and the most important condition of this must be the strictly defensive character of military doctrines.

It is very important that a reliable mechanism for peaceful and civilized settlement of contested issues should be created. Life is full of contradictions, and our time is perhaps especially rich in these.

While recognizing the diversity of state, national, and economic interests, efforts must be exerted to ensure that conflicts between these do not take on a destructive nature. What is needed is an honest and effective policy of European good-neighborliness, a policy from the positions of the new thinking.

The economy can be said to be the cement for building international relations. Trade ties and economic cooperation exist and are developing between all the European countries, even today increasing a certain, although still weak, togetherness.

So, what will in the final analysis determine the future: The Coordinating Commission on Export Controls, the policy of sanctions and of isolation of economic alliances and associations; or cooperation, industrial cooperation, and gradual progress toward a truly all-European market.

Does one need to say that overcoming the present obstacles in the sphere of the economy, science, and technology will benefit everyone?

The same goes for culture. Despite all the differences and specific characteristics of the elements that it comprises, the spiritual life of the European peoples has a great deal in common.

Opening up and affirming this togetherness is today, in the epoch of electronics, information science and modern communications, a task which absolutely can be resolved. In addition, if we think about the peaceful future of Europe, resolving this task is also vitally essential.

Now a great deal of this has been set in motion. The exchange of cultural values is expanding. Exhibitions, concerts, television bridges contribute toward knowledge of one another. West and East Europe are ceasing to shun one another.

This is how we see the ways for development of the common European home. And, if the leaders of the Western states who often talk about the need to overcome the division of Europe are really interested in that, then now, in our opinion, a historic chance is opening up for progress in that direction.

What is needed is more communication and more respect for the social orientation, historical and cultural traditions of each people. We would like to believe that in the years to come, European and world politics will develop precisely in that direction.

Any other path would be unreasonable and at variance with the interests of all peoples. Furthermore, it would be perilous, to put it simply.

Dear friends! The peoples of our countries are linked by a very great deal—distant history, combat cooperation in the war years, proximity of culture, related languages, and also multifaceted business cooperation in recent decades.

Here in Yugoslavia one is particularly well aware of these ties.

We will have the opportunity of acquainting ourselves with many things in the remaining days of the visit. However, I can already state that we were happy to see the good fruits of the long years of strenuous labour by Yugoslav Communists and the working people of Yugoslavia.

Permit me in conclusion to express once again my confidence that, thanks to the meetings and talks that have taken place, Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation will develop and strengthen for the good of the peoples of our countries, in the interest of peace and socialism.

We wish the LCY and the fraternal Yugoslav peoples success in all their affairs and undertakings.

Medvedev, LCY's Lolic Hold News Conference

LD152310 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A press conference took place today in Belgrade. Marko Lolic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev, CPSU Central Committee secretary were speaking there. Medvedev said in part:

[Begin recording] In intensity of discussion, in the time spent on it, and in the depth of the discussion of the questions, I would give first place to the mutual exchange of experience of the LCY and the CPSU in the social and political development of their countries. The mutual interest that is presented by these matters is deeply in accordance with objective laws, and not accidental. Of course, the conditions of the development of our countries differ from one another, and the scale of the work under way differs, the methods applied, but at the same time there are many common problems, many coincidences, much that is of mutual value and interest. The enormous significance of the turning point in relations between our parties which was marked by adoption of the Belgrade-Moscow Declaration of 1955-6 was noted once again. Today, of course, the exchange of views wasn't restricted to discussion, examination of mutual relations between our parties, but it also reached a broader arena, an exchange of views on matters of the contemporary workers' and communist movement, for peace, for the normalization of international relations, for disarmament.

All in all, I repeat, the atmosphere at the talks was very good, very confidential, interested, not formal. The conversation was free, creative, I would say, at a good theoretical and political level, and it afforded—I can say this for the Soviet side—great satisfaction, and engendered the desire to meet again and talk again. [end recording]

During the news conference Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev and Marko Lolic replied to many questions asked by journalists.

Spokesman on 'Successful' Talks

LD160703 Moscow TASS in English 0606 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] Belgrade March 16 TASS—The Soviet-Yugoslav summit talks at the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia were held in an atmosphere of friendship, mutual understanding and complete frankness, Marko Lolic, executive secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee, said at a briefing held here on Tuesday for Yugoslav and foreign journalists.

The talks continued beyond schedule. The sides held a broad exchange of views on many subjects of mutual interest. The talks centred on cooperation between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which both sides—Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev and Comrade Bosko Krunic—described as very successful and as having prospects for the further development and upgrading on the basis of the principles that have stood the test of time.

The sides exchanged information on the activities of ithe CPSU and the LCY in their countries at the current stage of socialist construction and spoke about responsibility and initiative in party work.

They paid much attention to the situation in the world socialist system, in the working-class and other progressive movements in the world.

The conversation was very frank and lively, marked by no formal approach to information exchanges, which had been typical of international contacts some time ago. Subjects discussed changed one another. [sentence as received]

The conversation passed in an atmosphere of complete mutual understanding and respect, which characterises cooperation between the two parties and which is an important factor in all-round and stable Soviet-Yugoslav relations and in the strengthening of friendship between the peoples of the two countries.

Lolic said the talks had shown the existence of new opportunities for the exchange of opinions, for the development of cooperation between institutes, academies and higher educational establishments of the two countries and between the bodies of party press, for holding discussions on certain subjects of mutual interest.

During the talks the sides pointed out the successful implementation of a programme for interparty cooperation.

Gorbachev on Perestroyka's 'Sensitive Phase'

LD142004 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1947 GMT 14 Mar 88

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—It was reported at this evening's news conference that Mikhail Gorbachev informed his counterparts in the talks about the specific application of perestroyka. During his talks this afternoon with top Yugoslav leaders he stressed that perestroyka is in a very sensitive phase, since it is now being specifically applied in all spheres of life.

Gorbachev Addresses SFRY Assembly

LD161257 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] A TASS correspondent reports from Belgrade that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, met in the SFRY Federal

Assembly today the leaders of the Yugoslav Federal Assembly, and delegates from its two chambers—the Federal Chamber and the Chamber of Republics and Provinces—who had gathered for the regular session of the parliament. Present in the hall were: Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency; Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; and other Yugoslav leaders.

Participating in the meeting were: Medvedev, CPSU Central Committee secretary; Silayev, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman; Maltsev, USSR Ambassador to the SFRY; and Shakhnazarov, assistant to the CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

The meeting was opened by a speech of welcome delivered by Rozic, president of the SFRY Assembly. Then Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev addressed those present.

CSSR Minister Presents Jakes Pullback Plan

PM151441 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "CSSR Proposal"]

[Text] Prague, 8 Mar—CSSR Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek has met in Prague with the NATO countries' ambassadors and charges d'affaires ad interim in the CSSR. He briefed them on the proposal of Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, to create a zone of confidence, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states. The creation of such a zone would give a new boost to the development of the all-European process and to the start of its qualitatively new phase, he said.

We adhere to the view, B. Chnoupek pointed out, that reliable peace and security cannot be ensured only by measures in the military sphere. This is precisely why we advocate a comprehensive approach both in the military sphere and in politics, economics, and ecology, as well as in resolving humanitarian questions.

The CSSR proposal is in full accordance with the "Jaruzelski Plan" to limit arms and strengthen confidence in central Europe, B. Chnoupek said.

The CSSR foreign minister expounded the initiative advanced by Milos Jakes to convene an international teachers' conference under the title "The Behests of Jan Komensky and the Education of 21st-Century Man" in Prague in 1992, emphasizing that J. Komensky's ideas are assuming special topicality right now, when the question of ensuring mankind's existence is being resolved in the literal sense of the word.

CPCZ's Indra Rejects Comparison With 1968 Reform

PM151033 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "New Stage of Revolution"]

[Text] Prague, 4 Mar—The general restructuring of life in Czechoslovak society is a continuation of the socialist revolution, a new stage in it at which quantity becomes quality. This is emphasized in the article "Restructuring and the Document 'Lessons of the Crisis Development in the CPCZ and Society Following the 13th CPCZ Congress'" by A. Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, published in the newspaper RUDE PRAVO.

The 17th CPCZ Congress decisions and the materials of the 4th, 5th, and, above all, the 7th CPCZ Central Committee Plenums attest that the CPCZ is guided in its activity by Marxist-Leninist teaching on the dialectical development of society.

We place a high value on the CPSU's inspiring role, attentively study the experience of the USSR and the other socialist countries, and endeavor to utilize it. It is a question, however, not of attempts to mechanically copy or use ready-made prescriptions but of a creative approach and the assessment of everything that is happening with our friends. The Communist Party's policy can be successful only if its leadership is capable of realistically assessing the situation, taking all internal and international conditions into account, and being clearly aware of its responsibility to its own people, to the international communist and workers movement, and to its friends and allies.

These principles, which guide the CPCZ, should be remembered because some of our dissidents now believe that the hour of their "rehabilitation" has come and that the time has come for them to return to the political scene to the sound of fanfares. Without batting an eyelid, they claim that their activity in the late sixties was identical with the Soviet restructuring and that it was they who "inspired" the CPSU's contemporary policy. The attempts to pass off the "reformers" of that period as consistent "internationalists" and even as "loyal friends of the Soviet Union" can only be called the height of hypocrisy. They are nothing more than useless attempts to refute reality.

Anyone who relies on true facts cannot deny that anti-Sovietism was fanned by right-wing forces with the blessing of the party's leader at the time. A. Dubcek and the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium at that time bear responsibility for the fact that the party failed to cope with the tasks set before it, lost the political initiative, and ceased playing the role of the leading political force in society. The enemies of socialism in Czechoslovakia "supported Dubcek" to make him a symbol of their subversive activity.

Many bourgeois journalists are now endeavoring to pass off the 1968 "Czechoslovak economic reform" as the prototype of today's fundamental changes in the management and planning of the Soviet economy. It should not be forgotten, however, that right-wing forces once turned the economic reform in the CSSR into a tool in the political struggle against the CPCZ and used it to discredit the results of 20 years' work by millions of honest working people.

As for the "democracy" at that time, it was rather peculiar. Those who reviled the Communist Party and its history and who could see nothing positive in the building of socialism played first fiddle. Their voices blended with the voices of overt antisocialism and anti-Sovietism.

The CPCZ Central Committee December (1987) Plenum once again emphasized the exceptional significance of deepening socialist democracy as the basic condition for restructuring the life of society. Comrade M. Jakes expressed the essence of CPCZ policy when he emphasized that we push nobody away but, on the contrary, call for cooperation among all honest people. We seek to galvanize the activity of the National Front and the country's entire political system.

CPSU Group Tours Polish Farming Enterprises

PM141243 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Mar 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] In accordance with the plan for ties between the CPSU and the PZPR a CPSU delegation was in Poland from 29 February through 5 March. It was made up of the following: N.V. Gellert, CPSU Central Committee member, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, and machine operator at the Kazakh SSR's Amangelda Sovkhoz; L.D. Bryzga, CPSU Central Committee member, hero of socialist labor, and mechanized milking operator at the "Pamyat Ilich" Kolkhoz Combine; I.A. Pentyukhov, CPSU Central Committee candidate member, hero of socialist labor, and director of Orel Oblast's state pedigree stock farm named for the 17th Party Congress; V.V. Sytnik, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and "Pershe Travnya" Kolkhoz in Zhitomir Oblast chairman; and Z.K. Lukshene, Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee member and chief of the "Shilute" Kolkhoz livestock complex in the Lithuanian SSR.

The delegation acquainted itself with the work experience of PZPR organizations and the labor collectives of a number of agricultural enterprises in Warsaw, Ciechanow, and Olsztyn Voivodships. It was received by Z. Michalek, Politburo candidate member and PZPR Central Committee secretary.

PZPR's Rakowski on Solidarity, Sejm,

PM141231 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 10, 5-11 Mar (Signed to Press 3 Mar 88) pp 4-5

[Own correspondent V. Ganin interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and Polish Sejm deputy speaker, under the rubric "Our Interview": "PZPR: From Directives to Reasoning"; date and place not given]

[Text] Correspondent: Comrade Rakowski, judging by Western press publications, you are seen as one of the most popular Polish leaders. What can you say about this?

Rakowski: You see, as a consequence of the world being divided into socialist and capitalist sociopolitical systems, any appraisal of the policies of the opposite camp is, as a rule, encumbered by various political and ideological stereotypes, realities, or tactics.

In 1981, for example, I held talks with Solidarity on behalf of the Polish Government. So at that time I was talked about in the West as an oppressor of freedom and democracy. But now, since being elected a member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, the West is saying that a progressive liberal has appeared in the party leadership. This is also understandable. Our ideological opponents want to present the situation as if the party is rent by contradictions and to set its leaders against one another.

Correspondent: You mention that you held talks with Solidarity 7 years ago. What can you say about its leaders as politicians?

Rakowski: Among the leaders of the former Solidarity organization I must highlight those who even then, in 1981, were consciously opposed to socialism and were trying to turn Solidarity into an anticommunist organization. Even now they are struggling against socialism, benefiting from U.S. political and financial support.

Another, much larger group of leaders consisted of people born into the working class. Many of them, usually the younger ones, did indeed prove to be capable organizers and leaders. This shows, incidentally, that we had failed to create the conditions at that time for such people to fully show their abilities.

But what were their main distinguishing features? First, their lack of political experience. Naturally, they were also unable to boast of any great erudition or the mental ability to cope with all the fame and attention. Their philosophy could not be described as firmly established. Many of them followed the lead of their advisers, the majority of whom were educated people with a knowledge of the peculiarities of political life and for whom struggle against the existing system was a natural impulse, you might say.

Correspondent: Some of the former Solidarity leaders have probably revised or abandoned their old attitudes and would like to become involved in social and political activity again within the framework of the socialist system. Can they count on their hopes being fulfilled?

Rakowski: Of course. We now follow the principle expressed by Comrade Jaruzelski regarding former opposition members, namely: "Where you come from is not important; what is important is what you bring with you." This means that if any former Solidarity member would now honestly like to work for the good of society without questioning socialist values or our Constitution, he has every opportunity to cooperate with us.

Correspondent: Now a question about something rather different. How do you explain the fact that, according to a poll conducted by the center for public opinion research, not all Poles have confidence in the Sejm?

Rakowski: The results produced by this kind of research are not static, they are constantly changing. The Sejm's popularity depends on the general situation in the country. The degree of confidence in the Sejm also depends on how successfully and effectively it monitors the activity of the government and other state organs. Our parliament's authority may also be increased by improving the quality of the laws it passes, some of which we are forced to renew soon after they have been ratified.

We are still not fully exploiting all of the Sejm's objective potential. By this I mainly mean its standing commissions. In principle they work very actively, almost daily. But this work goes unnoticed by the broad public. The information that does reach society mainly takes the form of reports on plenary conferences held once or twice a month. There seems to be sense in informing the public more broadly on the problems discussed by the commissions and the ways in which they discuss them. I believe this would really accord with the principles of socialist political pluralism.

Correspondent: What meaning do you invest in this concept?

Rakowski: I believe pluralism in Poland is reflected in the fact that different views exist in our country on the ways to develop socialism and the forms it should take. There are also different philosophical outlooks, some of which are based on religion. But the main feature of Polish socialist pluralism is that three parties are active in our political arena. Each of them has its own real rather than imaginary political platform. The PZPR now has to reach a consensus when making any decision on issues which extend beyond its own internal interests. In other words, during our discussions with the other parties we have to amend our stand until it is acceptable to everyone.

The PZPR's position in this pluralist system will primarily depend on its intellect, that is, the Communists' ability to solve problems in such a way as to satisfy the interests of all society and also their ability to organize society with the aid of reasoning rather than by issuing directives.

Correspondent: How do you regard the current state of the PZPR?

Rakowski: It must be said that the PZPR emerged from the crisis weaker—quantitatively and qualitatively. We lost approximately 1 million members. I cannot say that all those who abandoned us at this difficult time were nonessential, worthless people. Many good people left the party. Many of those who left were members of the intelligentsia. It is they who think of new ideas, infect the masses with them, and have the ability to lead others.

The party's present intellectual level is also affected by the whole of our previous mode of thought and action. Our discussions bore only the semblance of discussions. Most often we kept our real thoughts and opinions to ourselves and did not bring them up for general discussion. Our political activity amounted to no more than our mounting the rostrum and, in line with a prepared, agreed text, assuring each other of our commitment to the party cause and of the people's support for our policies.

I want to say that the party is developing its intellectual potential as it releases its members from their mutual spiritual tutelage, ideological stereotypes, and dogmatism. From an intellectual standpoint we are stronger now than we were 2-3 years ago. The document on the deepening of socialist renewal which was approved at the Sixth PZPR Central Committee Plenum is evidence of this.

Correspondent: What can Poland expect in the immediate future? What kind of problems is society going to encounter?

Rakowski: There is no doubt at all that we must be prepared to come up against various contradictions and difficulties in the future. The party and the whole of society is going to have to give up many long-established notions. For example, the idea that under socialism you can live a calm and even comfortable life, albeit not at the high standard you would like. Society has become used to the idea that people earn average wages and that they should work with an average amount of enthusiasm to receive these wages. For many years we tried to ensure that civic activeness did not exceed the average level. This has demoralized people to a certain extent.

The whole point of the reform is to banish what is mediocre and third-rate from our life. The comfortable, easy life is over. For those in power and for society.

In all probability we will have to pay some sort of price for all this. For instance, this price could take the form of a demonstration of dissatisfaction by those who do not want to put their all into their work but want to reap the rewards as much as the next man. We must also consider that our political enemies will try to use every opportunity to prove the alleged existence of insoluble problems in Poland.

Correspondent: Judging by Polish press publications, a major obstacle to Polish reform is being created by the so-called braking mechanism and the official, bureaucratic apparatus. It could be argued that you yourself are a very high-ranking official...

Rakowski: I do not believe every party or state official is a bureaucrat. People are not born bureaucrats. A person becomes what he is under the influence of the conditions surrounding him. So when I talk about bureaucracy I am thinking not so much of the officials themselves—among whom, of course, there are a fair number of natural bureaucrats—as of the system which forces people to become bureaucrats. This system is founded on the false belief which has it that people cannot be trusted. So perhaps we should make the system responsible for running society more democratic, a system which stimulates creative ideas? I think we should, and then there will be considerably fewer bureaucrats.

Correspondent: What do you think about the further development of contacts between the Polish and Soviet peoples?

Rakowski: At present ties between our peoples are often restricted by the bureaucratic limitations we ourselves have created.

Nevertheless, all the preconditions are there for our peoples to become more closely acquainted with each other.

Of course, our relations are not free of problems and issues that have not been fully clarified. This fact has long been exploited by professional anti-Soviets in the West and in Poland itself to stir up our peoples' mistrust of each other. Elucidating these issues and problems will definitely contribute to our rapprochement and friendship, even if the truth sometimes has a bitter taste.

West Europe

Italian Prime Minister Receives Tolkunov

LD151546 Moscow TASS in English 1512 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Rome March 15 TASS—Italian Prime Minister Giovanni Goria has received the Soviet parliamentary delegation led by Lev Tolkunov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, chairman of the USSR Parliamentary Group, currently on an official visit here. The Italian premier pointed out that relations between the two countries are excellent and Italy is prepared for their further all-round development.

People in Italy are following with much attention the peaceable efforts by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, introducing the new spirit into the atmosphere of East-West relations.

On his part, Giovanni Goria noted, Italy will work towards ensuring that the West's contribution to progress of the disarmament processes be of an increasingly specific character.

Italy favours that as détente makes progress, cooperation be broadened with the Soviet Union in the field of technology with a simultaneous build-up of trade and economic ties, where both countries should shift their accents on new forms of cooperation, including industrial cooperation and setting up of joint ventures.

Lev Tolkunov briefed the Italian prime minister on the most important aspects of the Soviet Union's home and foreign policy, the process of perestroyka and the drive for more democracy. V.A. Masol, deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, touched upon mutually beneficial ties which shaped between separate regions of the Ukraine and Italy.

Present at the meeting was N.M. Lunkov, USSR ambassador to Italy.

Project With Finland Encounters 'Difficulties'

PM151651 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondents V. Shmyganovskiy and V. Nevelskiy dispatches: "The Partner's Reputation; About the Problems of a Soviet-Finnish Joint Project"]

[Text] V. Shmyganovskiy reports from Helsinki: "I have been working with Soviet organizations for 15 years. All kinds of problems have cropped up, but they have always been solved. Today, however, I am depending more on my optimism than on the future development of events,"—this is the unusual way, to say the least, in which Kristian Laks, one of the directors of the Waertsilae concern, described the progress of work on a diesel engine plant under construction some 40 km from Leningrad.

What is causing the concern for the fate of this project the cost of which, according to Finnish estimates, will total 1 billion markkas? After the signing of the agreement with "Avtopromimport" last year, things seemed to go quite well. The construction of the first phase of the plant, which is scheduled to produce its first output in 1990, got under way. This output consist of medium-revolution diesel engines for ships, drilling rigs, and power stations. The Waertsilae enterprise in the city of Vaasa is a leader in this sector. An annual output of 100 engines initially is envisaged, to be increased to 400 per annum subsequently. But let us hear what K. Laks has to say further:

"Something unexpected has happened. As a result of the reorganization of ministries and departments, we no longer know with whom we should be dealing."

"The beginning of the year," I was told by the concern's management, "is a time when complex decisions have to be made. However, so far we have had no confirmation of deliveries of Soviet equipment, not to mention imported equipment for which hundreds of additional contracts have to be signed. The point is that in accordance with the client's wishes, more than one-third of the plant's equipment is to be Soviet-made, and the remainder is to be supplied by Waertsilae and other Western firms...."

It is difficult to recall a similar situation in our relations with foreign partners. The fact that they have turned to a Soviet newspaper for help is also unique. The latter, incidentally, seems quite logical. Our countries are linked by common concerns and joint plans and projects. I asked K. Laks:

"Maybe the clients have changed their mind. Maybe they are afraid that having bought the license, they will be producing obsolete equipment within a few years?"

"This might have happened in the past. While documents were being agreed, approved, and signed, while the plant was being built, equipment was being assembled, and production was being organized, the output was becoming hopelessly outdated. However, the present contract is a special one. Waertsilae will share all its improvements right up to the year 2000. You must understand, we have a vital interest in this since we want to retain both our leading positions in the world market and close cooperation with the USSR."

V. Nevelskiy reports from Leningrad: How does the Soviet side assess the situation that has developed? Does it share the alarm of its Finnish partner? These are the questions IZVESTIYA's correspondent addressed to Yevgeniy Pavlovich Yashin, director general of the "Russkiy Dizel" Association. This is what he replied:

"There are not a few problems at the construction site. There is plenty to rack our brains over. However, the reorganization of ministries and departments has in no way affected the fate of the joint project. From the outset, 'Russkiy Dizel' bears the entire responsibility for this project, and we are not sitting twiddling our thumbs. Last year we were supposed to provide Finnish construction workers with work worth R10 million, and we provided them with 50 percent more. The plant's management cannot complain about indifference on the part of Leningrad Gorispolkom, or the oblispolkom or the Ministry of Heavy, Power, and Transport Machine Building. The latest meeting with representatives of Waertsilae has only just been held in Leningrad, and the issues worrying them were discussed.

"The project in question is unusual as regards its nature, its cost, and the tight construction schedule—the first engine is to be produced within 3 years. Meanwhile, the contract was not concluded at a very auspicious time. The current 5-year plan had already been drawn up, resources had been distributed, construction organization capacities had been assigned to various jobs, and the Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry's 5-year plan had been finalized. This is what caused the difficulties we are encountering today. Can they be solved? I believe they can. We have grown used to blaming construction workers; they get a lot of criticism for sluggishness and omissions. But on this occasion, it is necessary to give their due to the leaders of the Main Administration for Construction in Western Regions who have made it possible to set up a special trust, the 'Dizelstroy.' To assist it, our association has set up its own construction industry base and is carrying out a large volume of work on the basis of its own resources using the direct labor method. It has been decided to proceed with construction work as soon as the blueprints are available, without waiting for the approval of the project as a whole. This will make it possible to save almost 2 years, at least.

"In addition to foreign firms, the plant's modern equipment is to be supplied by some 50 enterprises of the Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry. The Finns are responsible for technological design. Under the contract the equipment will be manufactured in accordance with Finnish specifications. Unfortunately, we are only just receiving this documentation. Only after the specifications have been coordinated and orders placed with machine tool building enterprises could the list of the necessary import equipment be drawn up.

"Naturally, the Finnish specialists cannot always understand our problems. They cannot understand our cumbersome system of coordination and why it takes so long from the time specifications are received to the time the machine tool is produced. This is something that worries us, too.

"We have a vital interest in the timely commissioning of the plant. Judge for yourself. A series-produced diesel engine costs R700,000. The need for these engines is so great that the country is forced to buy them abroad—in Poland and Yugoslavia. There is another, very important aspect. The plant represents a technological breakthrough in diesel construction for us. The association's collective is well aware of this."

Latin America & Caribbean

Listov Assesses Observance of Guatemala Accords

PM160951 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Mar 88 First Edition p 6

[Article by V. Listov: "Central America: Thorny Paths; Who Is Disrupting the Guatemala Accords"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The provisions of the Guatemala accords affected equally all countries of the region without exception. But definite successes on the path to national conciliation have been achieved only in Nicaragua.

A simple enumeration of the measures undertaken by the Sandinist government convinces you of how consistently Nicaragua is implementing the commitments it has undertaken. Martial law has been repealed, and the people's anti-Somozist tribunals have been abolished. Freedom of the press has been restored, and censorship has been lifted. The action of those articles of the Constitution permitting free assembly for any political groups and the organization of meetings and demonstrations has been restored. The government is conducting dialogue with the opposition and has embarked on direct talks with the contras on halting hostilities. Managua has repeatedly suggested to Washington that they hold a direct exchange of opinions without intermediaries to normalize relations between the two countries.

Yet the Sandinists' constructive initiatives are failing to meet with proper understanding from the "four" [Costa Rica, Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador]. But what specific steps have the "four" taken to implement the Guatemala accords not verbally but in deeds? There is just one answer: virtually none.

In El Salvador the question of observing the accords can hardly be raised, and no one is raising it, the U.S. political journal ZETA states. The creation of a national conciliation commission there was frankly a farce. The amnesty announced by President Duarte for "almost all political prisoners" affected... people accused of murdering and torturing the regime's political opponents. It is not surprising that the human rights organizations, trade unions, and church have resolutely opposed this "observance" of the Guatemala accords. Nonetheless, President Duarte is accusing the patriotic forces of attempting to wreck a peace settlement and the Armed Forces leaders are stating without beating about the bush that "there is no point" in conducting dialogue with them.

In Guatemala, the human rights situation has even deteriorated since the signing of the Guatemala accords. The regime's opponents are continuing to "disappear," and dozens of them are being executed without trial or investigation. At the end of last year, there were about 50 political killings a month.

In Honduras there is not so much as a trace of a hint of the fulfillment of even individual provisions of the Guatemala accords. Immediately after the signing of the accords, the Honduran Government declared that it did not intend to observe them, that there there were no contras camps in the country, and that it would not allow the slightest monitoring until Nicaragua had satisfied all the requirements of... Washington. Yet what kind of atmosphere is prevailing in this country, Nicaragua's neighbor, is borne out by the evidence of Ramon Custodio, chairman of the Honduran Human Rights Committee: "Killings by the security forces agents are becoming "increasingly flagrant," he said, "and their political opponents are not even being given the opportunity to be taken alive."

Even in Costa Rica, which has always been considered a "model of democracy" in Central America, there are killings of trade union leaders. Also, the working people's democratic rights and freedoms are being flouted, and the grossest violations of human rights are being kept quiet by every means.

The Guatemala accords gave rise to hopes that the hotbed of tension in Central America would be eliminated. In addition, Reagan and his administration initially welcomed the peace settlement plan.

But after a while, THE NEW YORK TIMES attests, leading White House staffers began "surreptitiously to oppose it," and then the U.S. President himself began to treat it so hostilely that he was ready to reject it as "incorrigibly pernicious." He was echoed by the "hawks," who called the peace plan a "catastrophe."

In its issue for January this year, the above-mentioned journal ZETA noted that the Guatemala accords do not affect the underlying causes of the violence and suffering in countries which for a long time have been dependent on the United States. But they can restrict U.S. interference which, in the journal's opinion, is a preliminary condition for any constructive changes and, above all, for a political settlement of the regional conflict. But it is precisely this interference which Washington is reluctant to renounce!

Continuing to gamble on a mailed fist, Washington is displaying toward the Central American crisis its old imperialist expansionist approach which gives the peoples nothing but neocolonialist enslavement. This approach, as Frank Murkowski, member of the Senate committees on foreign relations and intelligence, stated soon after the signing of the Guatemala accords, "is based on an existing principle known for over 160 years. This principle is called the Monroe Doctrine. No less topical today, it should be the basis of our policy in Central America." I recall that this doctrine, proclaimed in 1823 by then U.S. President J. Monroe, declared the principles of U.S. foreign policy: Washington used the slogan "America for the Americans," which reflected the essence of the Monroe Doctrine, to conceal its policy of territorial seizures and expansion against Latin America.

In actual fact the specific steps taken by the U.S. Administration since the signing of the Guatemala accords graphically illustrate "neo-Monroeism" in action. For instance, in fulfilling CIA and Pentagon orders, the contras have activated their military operations. Avoiding clashes with units of the Sandinist People's Army, they have begun to attack mainly small settlements and

agricultural cooperatives. One of the Pentagon's "strategists—General John Galvin, former commander of the U.S. Southern Command and now commander in chief of NATO—explained that thanks to this tactic "the contras' prospects should improve considerably."

Inciting the contras, the CIA has twice expanded the scale of operations to supply them from the air. Speaking at the OAS, Nicaraguan President D. Ortega announced that in the first 3 months after the conclusion of the Guatemala accords alone, the number of flights by transport aircraft delivering weapons, munitions, and so forth to the contras had reached 140. At the same time, Washington, both by itself and through its satellites, is exerting constant pressure on Nicaragua, making what are virtually ultimatum demands of a political nature and accusing the Sandinists of "failing to fulfill" their commitments under the Guatemala accords.

Washington's efforts aimed at undermining the Guatemala accords are meeting with growing condemnation, above all in the Latin American countries. Nor are other states, especially European states, remaining unconcerned. Thus, in the middle of February, the European Parliament demanded an immediate end to foreign military intervention in the conflict in Central America and agreed to take part in the process of monitoring of the fulfillment of the Guatemala accords.

The policy of "neo-Monroeism" to which U.S. ruling circles are clinging so persistently not only contradicts the fundamental national interests of the Central American peoples; it runs counter to the main trend of the times—the universal desire for peace, for salvation from war and the threat of war, for creation of conditions and a favorable international atmosphere for socioeconomic development.

In other words, the present course of Washington, which is seeking to direct the development of events in Central America into a single channel advantageous only to itself, could lead the regional conflict into total deadlock again. Yet the path to the settlement of this conflict is obvious—letting the Latin Americans themselves do it on the basis of the Guatemala accords.

Commenting on the signing of the Guatemala accords, UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar called it an event of tremendous importance opening up "an unprecedented opportunity" for establishing peace in this turbulent region. It is important not to let slip this opportunity.

Dobrynin, Gusev Receive Nicaragua's Arce 15 Mar

PA160213 Managua Sistema Sandinista Television Network in Spanish 0200 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Commander of the Revolution Bayardo Arce Castano met today with CPSU Central Committee Secretary Anatoliy Dobrynin and with USSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman Vladimir Gusev. Soviet-Nicaraguan cooperation was discussed at both meetings. Dobrynin, speaking on behalf of the CPSU, reiterated the constant Soviet support for Nicaragua. Commander Arce is heading a Sandinist delegation visiting several socialist countries.

Nicaraguan Vice President on Cease-Fire Talks

LD151955 Moscow TASS in English 1252 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Managua March 15 TASS—The internal political situation in Nicaragua and matters connected with the forthcoming direct ceasefire talks between the government of the Republic and the contras on March 21-23 were at the centre of attention here on Monday at a meeting of the Commission for National Reconciliation.

The main provisions of the government's report on the course of implementation of the Guatemala agreement on a peaceful settlement of the explosive crisis in Central America were also considered at the commission's meeting.

The Republic's Vice President Sergio Ramirez emphasized at a press conference here that the Nicaraguan authorities were taking persistent measures aimed at achieving national reconciliation.

With this end in view, he pointed out, the state of emergency in Nicaragua was lifted, and talks with the contras through a mediator were held.

The forthcoming round of direct talks which is to be held on Nicaraguan territory will open up a new stage on the way to cessation of bloodshed and to achieving lasting peace, Sergio Ramirez pointed out. He also announced that President Daniel Ortega had invited the leaders of political parties and groups to meet on Thursday, March 17, to discuss the situation in the country and prospects for a peaceful settlement on the eve of the talks with the contras.

Despite the peace-making efforts of the Nicaraguan Government, Sergio Ramirez said, the Somozists continue to stage terrorist acts against the Republic's civilians, to lay ambushes, and to plant mines on roads. Innocent Nicaraguan children, women and old men die at the hands of the contras.

In these conditions the Sandinist People's Army continues combat operations against terrorist groups and firmly holds the initiative, the Nicaraguan vice-president stressed.

Political & Social

Situation Reported Calm in Armenia, Azerbaijan

Yerevan 'Back to Normal' 1 March

PM151617 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 2 Mar 88 p 3

[ARMENPRESS-AZERINFORM report: "Situation Back to Normal"]

[Text] The situation in Yerevan, which had become complicated a week ago, is now back to normal. Not a single offense against a person has been registered. There have been no incidents, either, in the region of the Yerevan section of the Transcaucasian Railroad. Road traffic is fully open. Life in the republic is back to its normal working rhythm.

Thousands of people living in Yerevan voluntarily went to work on Saturday and Sunday to make up for lost time. They took over the watch with a sense of duty to their country and people and a desire to narrow the gap in the fulfillment of production plans and targets concerning product supplies to fraternal republics. Saturday and Sunday became working days for many workers at the "Armelektromash," "Armkhimmash," and "Armelektroapparat" production associations, the tobacco curing combine, and other enterprises. They produced a great variety of products.

Assemblies and meetings are being held in labor collectives, at which people of various nationalities and professions are expressing their full approval of M.S. Gorbachev's Appeal to the working people and the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia and their willingness to treasure and strengthen friendship between the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples and among all the peoples in our multiethnic country, and also to make the greatest possible contribution to restructuring.

K.S. Demirchyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, spoke on Armenian television on the evening of 29 February. He noted in particular that fraternal sentiment between the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples goes back centuries. It has been put to the test more than once in the past while traveling the steep road of history. But nothing has been able to undermine or shake it. And at this hour of new ordeals for our fraternity, I believe that no Armenian or Azerbaijani will do anything to damage it, darken it, or cast a pall over it. The working people of Soviet Armenia regard the need to strengthen socialist internationalism, fraternity, and friendship between peoples as a guarantee of further success in all spheres of life.

Sumgait 'Disorders Ended' 1 March

PM151601 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 2 Mar 88 p 3

[AZERINFORM untitled report]

[Text] Sumgait, 1 Mar—According to our correspondents, the disorders in the city have now ended. Industrial, transport, trade, public catering, and consumer services enterprises are working normally and lectures are being held at academic institutions. Order and the safety of people living in the city are being ensured.

Law enforcement organs have arrested people guilty of committing outrages.

G.N. Seidov, member of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, is in the city.

Migrants From Armenia Viewed

PM151611 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 2 Mar 88 p 3

[AZERINFORM report: "Getting Life Back to Normal"]

[Text] Unanimously approving the Appeal by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the working people and the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia, working people take an understanding, responsible attitude to the current situation and are making the maximum effort to get life back to normal as quickly as possible.

At the same time, the situation in the republic is being affected by the migration to Azerbaijani territory of groups of Azerbaijani nationals living in the Kafanskiy, Dilizhanskiy, Idzhevanskiy, and other rayons of Armenia. They are concentrating in Baku, Sumgait, and the Apsheronskiy, Imishlinskiy, Zangelanskiy, and a number of other rayons in the republic. Deliberately or otherwise, the new arrivals are beginning to spread various rumors and absurd conjectures which have nothing in common with reality.

Azerbaijanis who have come to the republic from Armenia have been received by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee. Their wishes and criticisms have been carefully listened to by senior members of the CPSU Central Committee and the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee. They have been informed that the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee are closely following the development of the situation and taking measures to guarantee order and citizens' safety.

Our AZERINFORM correspondent reports that, speaking on local television, K.S. Demirchyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee,

said in particular that the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has instructed party gorkoms and raykoms, the ispolkoms of city and rayon rural soviets, trade union and Komsomol organizations, and their leaders personally to do everything to ensure that the Azerbaijani population has absolutely no cause for concern. Party organs have established a monitoring system whereby anyone who shows a thoughtless, irresponsible attitude to people's needs is strictly called to account.

Measures are being taken in this direction, explanatory work is being carried out, and assistance is being given to people who have come to Azerbaijan to return to their native homes. Returning home, some people from Kafanskiy Rayon who are Azerbaijani nationals are persuaded that the situation is getting back to normal. Their families are now also returning to their permanent domiciles.

Grigoryants: 'Bloodshed Possible'

PM151204 Paris LIBERATION in French 11 Mar 88 p 25

[Telephone interview with GLASNOST Chief Editor Sergey Grigoryants by Basile Karlinsky—date not given]

[Text] LIBERATION: You have just returned from Yerevan. What was the situation on Wednesday evening?

Sergey Grigoryants: The situation is much more tense than it was in February. The process of radicalization has been very rapid.

LIBERATION: What about the strike scheduled for Friday?

Sergey Grigoryants: The idea of a 1-hour strike has been superseded. The movement may spread. The Organizing Committee had not made a decision by the time I left Yerevan on Wednesday evening.

LIBERATION: Can we believe the reports given during the meeting last Monday in the Armenian cemetery in Moscow about the atrocities committed by the Azeris?

Sergey Grigoryants: Yes, but they underestimate the real situation, which is much more terrible. The most unfortunate effect of the anti-Armenian "pogroms" in Azerbaijan is that the Armenians have now lost confidence in the Russians. They say that the Azeris were manipulated, whereas they did not and will not allow themselves to be provoked. It is dangerous to continue discussing this subject on the telephone.

LIBERATION: Were official meetings held in Azerbaijan to stir up the population against the Armenians?

Sergey Grigoryants: No, but there was a series of provocative programs on Azerbaijani television which constantly stated: "We will never give up the Nagorno-Karabakh." The chairman of the Azerbaijani Writers' Union even stated: "The border (with Armenia—LIBERATION editor's note) is open and those who do not feel comfortable in Nagorno-Karabakh can go home."

LIBERATION: Who issued the 1 March pamphlets calling for last Tuesday's demonstration at the genocide monument?

Sergey Grigoryants: The National Union for Self-Determination, the group led by Paruir Airikyan (Footnote) (A militant nationalist arrested in 1980 and given a 12 year sentence, then released under an amnesty in February 1987).

LIBERATION: Who now leads the Organizing Committee? At the end of February it was members of the Writers' Union and prominent people.

Sergey Grigoryants: Its composition has changed and is still changing. The situation is very complex. The most active member of the former committee was Igor Muradyan.

LIBERATION: This is the first time this name has been mentioned. Who is he?

Sergey Grigoryants: He is an engineer from Nagorno-Karabakh. He worked in Baku for 7 years and now lives in Yerevan. He is a man who has always kept apart from the dissidents and from the clandestine nationalist movement.

LIBERATION: Is he a party member?

Sergey Grigoryants: I do not think so.

LIBERATION: What are the party grass-roots organizations doing?

Sergey Grigoryants: They are out of their depth and paralyzed, but the leadership is trying to infiltrate the committee in order to take control of it. It is not having much success because the party has lost all authority. It is incapable of formulating proposals likely to be taken up by the Organizing Committee or the grass-roots committees.

LIBERATION: What about the Writers' Union?

Sergey Grigoryants: It is more active and closer to the people's positions.

LIBERATION: What about the university?

Sergey Grigoryants: The students are on the same wavelength as the rest of the city. They are participating in all actions but their role will probably increase further.

LIBERATION: What do you expect to happen in the next few days?

Sergey Grigoryants: Nothing good. Bloodshed is still possible. That must be prevented at all costs. The only thing we can do is report what happens.

Committees Discuss Instructions

NC160842 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 13 Mar 88

[Text] The workers in Sheki have responded warmly to the principled assessment made during the meeting held in the CPSU Central Committee concerning the incidents in Nagorno-Karabakh. This assessment was widely discussed at the rayon-level meeting held by the ideological workers. Khadi Radzhabov, first secretary of the Sheki Gorkom, addressed the convocation on the tasks of political commentators, propagandists, and cultural and educational workers in connection with the views that Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, expressed in his appeal to the workers and peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's, and the views put forward during the meeting held in the CPSU Central Committee. Radzhabov said that the consolidation of proletarian internationalism among the workers is the most important task of the ideological workers affiliated with the Sheki Gorkom.

The meeting unanimously agreed that the strength and omnipotence of socialist internationalism, which has been tested by time, are inexhaustible. The principled line of policy, which has been outlined in the party documents, is the most harmonious and just policy.

The communication of the contents of these documents to the masses on a wide scale will occupy an important part of the daily work of the ideological workers.

Dolgikh, Lukyanov in Yerevan

PM151629 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 2 Mar 88 p 1

[ARMENPRESS report: "Trip to Araratskiy Rayon"]

[Text] V.I. Dolgikh, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and A.I. Lukyanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, are continuing their visit to the republic.

Inhabitants of the Pokr Vedi settlement spoke during their meeting about the traditional friendship of the Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Russians, Moldavians, and Kurds living there. During the Great Patriotic War they fought together and in peacetime have built houses for their neighbors and celebrated marriages together. That is how it has been and will always be. The participants in the conversation unanimously approved the provisions and recommendations contained in the Appeal addressed by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the working people and the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia and recognized them as the only accurate ones in the prevailing situation.

The cause of friendship among the peoples of the socialist motherland, it was stressed in conversation with the inhabitants of Shirazlu village, is in the hands of the people themselves. This is a priceless asset and must be vigilantly protected against the slightest infringement. After all, the complex national and territorial questions bequeathed by the past cannot be solved hastily. They need to be comprehensively examined in the interest of strengthening our multinational state and in the light of the processes of revolutionary renewal launched in the country.

During their meeting with working people at the Araratskiy Experimental Canning Plant V.I. Dolgikh and A.I. Lukyanov asked questions about enhancing the quality of products and expanding their range, constructing accommodation, and improving people's living and working conditions.

The canning plant workers said that they had met all their plan targets. The collective worked together harmoniously and people could not understand how it was possible to quit one's job when people all over the country were waiting for the goods they produced. The participants in the meeting unanimously assured the CPSU Central Committee that in response to the party's concern they would be working with greater energy and would seek to drastically improve the quality of all their goods and bring them fully into line with the best world standards, and they asked that this message be conveyed to M.S. Gorbachev.

Conversations with the inhabitants of the rayon center, Vedi, and with workers at the Mets-Vedinskiy Kolkhoz were conducted in an animated and frank atmosphere. They noted that the demand for an immediate solution of the complex national and territorial problem was simply inappropriate. It interfered with the normal course of life in the republic. Kolkhoz members at the meeting said that they live and work as a harmonious family and no one feels an outsider. They hold everything in common.

The kolkhoz Communists consider that M.S. Gorbachev's Appeal to the working people and the peoples of Armenia must serve as a guideline for all primary party organizations and help them establish a normal and calm pace of life and work.

During their trip to Araratskiy Rayon V.I. Dolgikh, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and A.I. Lukyanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, were accompanied by K.S. Demirchyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, and S.G. Arutyunyan,

member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and first deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers.

Demirchyan, CPSU Meeting Described

LD151850 Moscow TASS in English 1540 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Excerpt] Yerevan March 15 TASS—Follows news of Soviet Armenia.

Concerning developments in Nagorno-Karabakh [subhead]

The results of the meeting at the CPSU Central Committee which heard the reports on the situation in Armenia and Azerbaijan in conjunction with the developments in Nagorno-Karabakh were considered in Yerevan. Together with other leaders of the republic who took part in the meeting, Karen Demirchyan, first secretary of the Communist Party of Armenia Central Committee, emphasized that the CPSU Central Committee showed immense attention to the destinies of the Armenian and Azerbaijan peoples. The Political Bureau has charged the secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee with organising an in-depth and extensive study of the problems accumulated in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region, the causes behind the aggravation of inter-ethnic relations. The proposals are being drawn up, which as soon as they are prepared, will be submitted to the consideration of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Government.

Special emphasis in the range of long-term measures will be put on agreed-upon solution of urgent issues pertaining to socio-economic, every-day-life, scientific, cultural, language and other aspects of relationships between Armenia and Azerbaijan on the basis of the Leninist Principles of [word indistinct]. [passage omitted]

Nagorno-Karabakh TV Station Established

PM151301 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 27 Feb 88 p 3

[AZERINFORM report: "In the Interests of Television Viewers"]

[Text] An oblast television center will soon start operating in Nagorno-Karabakh. The decision to organize local television broadcasting in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast was adopted by the USSR Council of Ministers in October 1986. Since then the modernization of a special building has been completed in Stepanakert, and it now houses a television studio; a transformer station and seven garages for specialized vehicles have been constructed, and furniture has been acquired. The Nagorno-Karabakh Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting has obtained television equipment and materials worth R1,275,000, including R93,000 worth from funds of the Azerbaijan State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. The republic television service has handed over gratis to the oblast television center equipment for a mobile two-compartment television video-recording station and a television movie projection installation. Short courses for local television workers have been organized in Stepanakert with the help of colleagues from Baku.

AZERINFORM's correspondent was told at the Azerbaijan State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting that construction of a Radio Center will be completed in Stepanakert by the end of the 5-year plan. Some R1.2 million has been allocated for this.

2-Month Economic Results Published

NC160917 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0520 GMT 16 Mar 88

[From the review of SOVETAKAN AYASTAN]

[Excerpts] The paper publishes the republic's State Statistical Committee report on the results of the January-February performance of Soviet Armenia's national economy. We learn from the report that the republic's gross national product grew by over R29 million in the first months of 1988. This increase has come from almost every branch of the national economy. [passage omitted]

The Yerevan Department of the Transcaucasus Railroad has fulfilled the freight plan for the first 2 months of the year by 100.5 percent. The Motor Transport Minisry has fulfilled 100 percent of the goods transportation plan for the same period.

Readers' Letters Reveals 'Confusion' on Glasnost

PM161041 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Review of readers' letters by Yuriy Orlik, IZVESTIYA deputy editor, letters department: "Let Us Think"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Everything has gotten moving. Not surprisingly, some people are confused, they are looking around, saying: Is that where we are going? "For 50 years I thought the Trotskiyists and Bukharinists were traitors and their names filled me with loathing and contempt. What am I supposed to believe now?" T. Makhrochev from Zelenoborskiy settlement in Murmansk Oblast asks. One must try to understand the confusion. G. Radoman, a mine construction engineer from Karaganda, is also tormented by it. "Nevertheless the truth must be known," he believes.

But there have been letters which are striking not for their questions and doubts, but for their doctrinaire arguments, intolerance of other viewpoints, and claims to some higher truth. Some advise: "That's enough confession," and warn that "the past has yet to take vengeance on us," as if it had not had its revenge during the stagnation period, and even now. Others warn about

the cost of democracy. Others smile sarcastically, claiming that a "harmonious combination of interests and ideals" is impossible. In all these letters one detects a nostalgia for the past, although they purport to be about other things—order, respect and authority, the unity of the people, loyalty to the principles of socialism.

For example, when I was preparing the previous review, I kept on coming across letters questioning whether under socialism cooperative and individual labor activity has an actual legal right to exist. N. Penin in Armavir considers that it is tantamount to "propaganda of the kulak philosophy." N. Sologub of Konotop writes that "using Lenin as a pretext, they intend to open private shops here." "A concession to capitalism, no less" is the opinion of N. Cherkashin of Ukyanovsk Oblast. Just look. The terms they use sound like political accusations. But is it so surprising: the teaching they have had... The paper also gets it in the neck for advocating—neither more nor less—"the birth of bankers" (I. Tyukavin of Leningrad). And they are suggesting that it be called to order, put in its place, for which purpose they should be writing to the authorities rather than the editorial office. Of course, the writer has the right to choose where to send his missive. But if we are really concerned about the truth, let us not wind up, but develop the debate and raise its political standard of it. But we have written about this before.

Here I would just like to stress that ideas about socialism derived from the old textbooks are showing amazing vitality. Evidently, our propaganda has worked very well in the past. And although it is perfectly obvious that real life does not match their schemes at all, they cling to them stubbornly. Without noticing that what they have been guarding for a long time is not the fire, but ashes.

Our tendency to idealize and canonize established forms of public and economic life is the subject of a letter from V. Kuzennyy, senior lecturer at the Kokchetav Pedagogical Institute: "We have become so accustomed to leveling that many people are still clinging to it, claiming that it is socialism. Nothing of the sort. People must get more, much more for innovative creative labor and a high end result."

Stereotype thinking leads to both moral and economic losses. This is what V. Krasnoborodkin of Nadymskiy Rayon, Tyumen Oblast, has to say about it: "How long have peasants here been squeezed on all sides. How much talk has there been: Do you give them a bigger plot or not? What if the harvest on the land is such that the peasants get rich? This is the attitude to the family contract now: Don't overdo it. It is a paradox for socialism. They are scared lest people have a good living. They have ordered people around so much that no one wants to keep livestock and there is no milk or meat in the countryside any more. The peasants go to the city for sausage and everything else. Young people go off wherever they like, wherever they can earn money. I used to be a peasant, now I am in the North."

There is another aspect to the problem.

The monolith has collapsed before our very eyes: We were rather surprised to discover how different we all are. Not only in the social and professional plane, according to questionnaire data, but in terms of interests, opinions, predilections. We have looked at life without rose-tinted spectacles and have seen that it is full of contradictions, conflicting interests, and conflicts, sometimes dramatic. All this must be interpreted and thought about. Not just by the "bosses," but by everyone. Everyone must have his own view of things.

"Throughout the stagnation period, not to mention the cult era, people were afraid to say anything that conflicted with the "supreme" opinion, learning only one thing—to vote unanimously for anything," writes V. Matveyenko of Moscow. "We would take comfort from the fact that we were doing the same as everyone else. We were only bold when it came to political anecdotes.... Now we are only just learning to speak the truth."

It is naive to urge people to express views if one does not heed them, if one disregards them. But it still happens pretty often. However, a society cannot be run without taking its members' opinions into account. You can order people around. It is difficult to get out of the habit. It is hard switching from coercion to persuasion. But that is the task that faces us.

In the mail the idea is persistently put forward that in resolving the contradictons of modern life one must in no circumstances resort to methods borrowed from the past. "It is the easiest thing of all, in order to avoid a rally at which the 'wrong' pronouncements might be made, to dig up a square and send the city transport off on a detour," A. Zhemaytis writes from Riga. "It is harder to abandon the prejudices of the era of Stalinism, to amend the nationalities policy, and not to be afraid of the truth." And it is the easiest thing in the world to describe the conflict at the Yaroslavl engine plant as "alien to our system" (L. Zverev, Taganrog).

Let us not be in a rush. Let us learn to think. Without stereotypes.

Let us agree that beliefs do not come with VUZ graduation diplomas. They are the result of an independent understanding of life and history. Only then are beliefs strong, only then are they not changed. Not quickly anyway, anathematizing today what was extolled yesterday. Only by learning, fully in accordance with Leninist behests, not to take anything on trust, to arrive at our own conclusions, and to have our own opinions, not second-hand ones, will we be spared the pain and ignominy of collectively recovering our sight.

"A cult of knowledge, common sense, and intellect—that is what is needed," writes G. Solomakha of Kerch, putting his finger right on the demand of the times. There is perhaps nothing our society needs more.

Difficulties of Reappraising Stalin Discussed
PM151220 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Mar 88 Second Edition pp 3-4

[Article by Colonel A. Khorev, retired: "Reading About Stalin..."]

[Text] 1.

Almost as much is being written and published about Stalin today as in the years when his cult was flourishing. A number of solid, in-depth works have appeared in both literature and journalism. In some publications his name is not even mentioned, but his presence is felt nonetheless, because he is so interwoven with his era. Perhaps this feeling is only characteristic of those who were his contemporaries? Perhaps. In any event, the generation to which I belong takes to heart everything that is written about Stalin. We turn to our own recollections, we analyze, compare, and grieve over the extremes—the fact that in Stalin's lifetime everything, absolutely everything about him had a plus sign, whereas now nearly everything, on the contrary, has a minus sign. Formerly black was called white, now even the white is sometimes written about in black ink...

In 1949 I was completing my studies at the Leningrad Friedrich Engels Twice Red Banner Military Political School. At that time the "Collected Works" of Stalin were being prepared for publication, and it became known, in particular, that one volume of the collection would be the "Short Course in the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)," which came out for the first time as a separate publication in 1938. Then, on its first publication, the authorship of this book was not associated with Stalin's name. In a Central Committee resolution, specially adopted on that occasion, on the organization of party propaganda, it was stated vaguely that it was a "remarkable document of the Stalinist Central Committee." But now this document had become the 15th volume of Stalin's "Collected Works."

At a lecture on the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism one of the students in our company asked the teacher:

"Why was the 'Short Course' in party history previously regarded as a collective work?"

"I think," the teacher replied eagerly and not without reverence, "that this should be attributed to Comrade Stalin's supreme modesty."

"Supreme modesty..." That was said at the very time when, in Stalin's presence, he was called "the greatest military leader of all times and all peoples," when newspaper headings and banner headlines declared that "Stalin Is Lenin Today," when he himself, personally, called the Bolshevik Party "the party of Lenin and Stalin," and when, in that same "Short Course" in party history, Stalin was discussed in the third person and in the superlative and Stalin's speeches were quoted lavishly—yet it turns out that he himself was none other than the sole author of this book... And taking all these circumstances into account, people could talk seriously about Stalin's "supreme modesty." What an insult to common sense.

This episode could be regarded as an unfortunate impromptu remark by the teacher. But what could the teacher do? He was condemned if not to that answer, then to another equally sly answer by the very nature of that clumsy decision—to publish under Stalin's name a well-known work which, by the very style of its exposition, was not at all designed in terms of personal authorship.

Such facts are rightly coming under criticism today. That should not arouse objections in anyone, on one essential condition—that it does not go beyond the bounds of reliable facts and sober logic in interpreting them. In the vast majority of publications that principle is firmly adhered to. But at the same time there are individual cases where annoying deviations from it occur.

The magazine OGONEK, for instance, in issue No 43 for 1987, published a letter from Doctor of Geological and Mineralogical Sciences M. Salye from Leningrad which asserts with impassioned self-confidence but without citing evidence or sources that a certain picture in which Stalin is shown next to Lenin is nothing but a montage. Yet it soon became clear that the photograph exists, that it was taken by Mariya Ilinichna Ulyanova, that it was published in the lifetime of all those concerned, in 1922, and that the Central Party Archive of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism preserves the original (on glass)... The deputy chief of the archive, Yu.A. Akhapkin, wrote about this in issue No 50 of OGONEK.

Any mistake in the press is distressing. But that!... It will be prevalent for many years now: Nothing lives as long as a legend. And how can you publish a story like that in the press, without double-checking?!

An accusation of equal force is contained in the story about falsification of the results of the secret ballot for the election of the Central Committee at the 17th party congress, put forward in a number of publications and evidently lacking adequate proof. Documents are, of course, required for the publication of such stories.

Or take another example. On 7 January this year the newspaper MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA printed an article "Hello, Cheremushki!" It was devoted to the restoration of the name of Cheremushkinskiy Rayon in Moscow City and the abolition of the name of L.I. Brezhnev Square in the capital. Among other things, it expressed doubt as to the expediency of naming one of Moscow's rayons for K.Ye. Voroshilov. It went on to say: "K.Ye. Voroshilov was the author of the infamous work 'Stalin and the Red Army' (1929), which laid one of the cornerstones of the personality cult of his old friend..."

Yes, Voroshilov did play a part in the creation of the Stalin cult. He wrote a whole booklet entitled "Stalin and the USSR Armed Forces," consisting of three jubilee articles written successively for Stalin's 50th, 60th, and 70th birthdays. But the first of them, "Stalin and the Red Army," written in 1929, is less susceptible than others to the claim that it was generated by Stalin's personality cult. It is based on facts, on documents, including Lenin's documents. What happened, happened. Stalin played a prominent part in the civil war and there is no shame in saying so, in 1929 or today. Then, in 1929, evidence was still required for a description of Stalin's military merits, and this evidence is present in Voroshilov's article. Lenin's correspondence with Stalin about front-line affairs is in itself convincing evidence of much. Among other noteworthy points are the quotations from an item published in the White Guard journal DONSKAYA VOLNA in 1919, by Colonel Nosovich, former chief of an army operations directorate, who went over from our side to Krasnov's. Through the lips of an enemy and a military expert, a very high assessment is given of Stalin's organizational and military capabilities: Nosovich calls him, for instance, "the main motive force and main controller of everything" in the defense of Tsaritsyn.

Let us not forget that Stalin's life story also included the defense of Petrograd, the routing of Denikin's forces... This too is spoken of in Voroshilov's first article about Stalin. But the subsequent articles are utter panegyrics. It would be preferable to talk about them. But what happened was that they rushed into print. If you do that, it is easy to fall into those same methods of unsubstantiated accusations that we condemn in our past.

2.

"The centuries will complete the unfinished portrait," the poet once said, referring to the portrait of Lenin. It is no easier, and it may even be more difficult, to write about Stalin, and an entirely different palette is needed. It is probably not possible to paint a full portrait of him all at once. Not only because of the tremendously contradictory nature of Stalin, but also because documentary evidence and memoirs about his life and activity are still coming to light. Not all that many of them have yet been published. At the moment more assessments of Stalin than information about him are appearing. And also because each generation of our people will inevitably add to the mosaic of Stalin's portrait the nuances of its own perception of his personality.

For many, if not most, people of my generation, for instance, in his lifetime he was bathed in a kind of rosy glow. Drinking in, practically with our mother's milk, a reverential attitude toward Stalin, we cast aside any doubts, devoutly preserving his image in our souls against the slightest suspicion of anything that could be called a transgression or even a blunder. Some kind of justification was found for all the shortcomings, failures, and disasters, a justification which appeared objective and convincing. Much, in particular, was blamed firmly on saboteurs, the enemies of the people. In extremis, we allowed the idea of shortcomings by the leader's immediate entourage to slip through, but by the man himself—never. Or rather, that idea sometimes entered our heads, so to speak, involuntarily and uninvited, but because of its monstrously seditious nature, our intelligence would not tolerate it. Frankly, I myself, like, probably, many of my age group, even today, in discussions of Stalin's guilt in particular matters, invariably find myself wanting to shift at least part of the blame onto certain figures in Stalin's entourage. Perhaps this is the inertia of the old way of thinking, or perhaps it is not inertia at all... Because otherwise some people in that entourage were given nothing but bouquets, while Stalin is now getting all the brickbats. And that is unjust. Incorrect decisions on many individual, local matters were not made by Stalin at all, but by leaders at a high level and even at a low level working "under him." It was they who, with their immoderate zeal, perpetrated that evil whose gravity increased in proportion to its dissemination.

I remember that at a lecture on the history of the USSR at the military school, student Viktor Yakimov asked the teacher to explain the well-known phrase of Stalin's that "Hitler is no more like Napoleon than a kitten is like a lion": What does it mean, he asked. Did we spend 4 years fighting a kitten? I have forgotten the teacher's answer. But I do remember that soon after this, Yakimov was expelled from the party, and later from the school. Such expulsions and dismissals for various reasons (trivial reasons, by today's standards) were, incidentally, not uncommon. At the time we did not associate this with Stalin's own will, and today even less so. It was more likely to be the usual habit of playing safe, on the just-in-case principle...

The rose-colored halo around the leader's head was not tarnished in our eyes for a long time. I remember that information about the Beria case reached broad circles of the party aktiv, but at the time many of us still cherished the illusion that Stalin did not know about those crimes. The 20th party congress, as well as the Central Committee resolution adopted in 1956 "On Overcoming the Personality Cult and Its Consequences," struck a severe blow against those illusions. The 22d congress hit even harder. But the illusion nonetheless lived on in certain minds and hearts.

M.S. Gorbachev's report at the ceremonial session devoted to the 70th anniversary of October says as clearly as can be: "There are now many debates about Stalin's role in our history. His personality is extremely contradictory. Adhering to a position of historical truth, we should see both Stalin's indisputable contribution to the struggle for socialism and the defense of its gains, and the gross political errors and tyranny perpetrated by him and his entourage, for which our people paid a great price and which had grave consequences for our society's life. It is sometimes claimed that Stalin did not know

about the instances of lawlessness. Documents in our possession show that this is not so. The guilt of Stalin and his immediate entourage before the party and people for the mass repressions and lawlessness that occurred is enormous and unforgivable."

Many testimonies to this guilt live on in the people's memory. And nonetheless ardent voices are constantly raised from among the people themselves in defense of Stalin and his entourage.

Defending the aberrations of the past is a difficult and thankless task. And people who tackle it cannot help resorting to patent demagoguery for want of arguments. "Under Stalin," one reader writes, "there was real glasnost in the expression of your opinions..." What does he mean—glasnost in expressing rapturous opinions about Stalin? Any other kind of glasnost was frowned upon in his day.

And one of our citizens, in the desire to protect Stalin from the court of history, even went... to the people's court, bringing an action against a newspaper which mentioned Stalin's crimes in one of its articles.

All these are sketches for the complex, contradictory portrait of Stalin and for the portrayal of the perception of his image by his contemporaries.

3.

A few years ago, on a mission for the editorial office, I went to see a participant in the war to record his story about an officer who died at the front, on whom we were preparing an item for the newspaper. I telephoned the veteran beforehand. He offered to meet me at the station. Trying to dissuade him from this act of kindness, I mentioned, among other things, that we might not recognize each other on the platform, since we had never met before.

"No," he objected, "you will easily recognize me: I will be wearing a medal on my chest, 'For Victory Over Germany.'"

And that is how it was: A medal, polished until it shone, glinted from his jacket lapel. Alone, although he has many awards, including orders. This was the medal he wore to our meetings. It later emerged that he nearly always wears it. I asked why only that medal in particular. He explained: Because it is the only one of his awards that has Stalin's head on it, and he is an ardent supporter of Iosif Vissarionovich.

One of my meetings with him took place in his apartment. He proudly showed me a bookshelf holding the incomplete "Collected Works" of Stalin, and said:

"You see, I'm keeping them... I think they are still useful. Stalin had many wise thoughts."

Cautiously, trying to avoid unintentionally wounding the feelings of a man who really believes in Stalin, I tried all the same to get to the bottom of this faith. And indeed, it turned out that his reverence for Stalin resembled a religious person's attitude to God. That is to say, no scientific or even simply logical conviction of the greatness of Stalin's deeds and thoughts is behind it. He loves him with a kind of inexplicable love, absorbed, as the saying goes, with his mother's milk. He knows about many negative aspects of his personality and considers them rather exaggerated, but does not make a particular point of this. I felt that if a sensible propagandist were to spend a few evenings discussing things with him, he would have no great difficulty in making him revise his attitude to the leader as a god. In my view there is an equally, if not more, shaky foundation to the affection for Stalin shown by those eccentrically naive drivers who travel around the country's roads with a portrait of the generalissimo on the windshields of their cars. One of our poets, addressing one of these drivers, observed, not without reason:

"I won't go in your car, my friend:
"You'll suddenly round a bend,
"Fine, if we end up in forty-five,
"But what if it's thirty-seven?..."

In this connection I remember the words of [poet] Demyan Bednyy, who once wrote to Stalin saying that he, Demyan, entertains toward him, Stalin, a "biographical tenderness." That seems to me to be a good formula for denoting the kind of inexplicable, semimystical love for a great, famous person, with whom you need not be personally acquainted. Far from all outstanding or even great people have the quality of arousing this attitude to themselves. But the quality objectively exists, and Stalin, who, to judge by the reminiscences of people who knew him, possessed no great personal charm, did, I believe, have some kind of almost hypnotic influence on those around him. This might partially explain the submissive obedience to him on the part of certain individuals who were themselves not at all weak, but outstanding personalities, who eulogized him uncomplainingly along with everyone else.

Kalinin, for instance, uttered many sugary and sometimes unmerited compliments about Stalin. Talking with young peasant writers in May 1934, he said: "If you asked me who knows the Russian language best of all, I would reply—Stalin. It is from him that you should learn concision, clarity, and crystal purity of language." What? Not from Pushkin, not from Tolstoy, not from Lenin, not from Sholokhov, but from Stalin, who may, perhaps, have thought clearly, but who spoke Russian not without effort, and with an accent.

Gorkiy dignified Stalin with the titles of powerful leader, mighty man, penetrating mind, wise comrade, and man of a huge heart and mind.

Kirov, in the year of his tragic death, found such extraordinary words to describe Stalin as "mighty will, colossal organizational talent..."

Even Henri Barbusse, a foreigner, saw in Stalin, with some enthusiasm, a man "with the head of a scientist and the face of a worker, dressed as an ordinary soldier." He, incidentally, was responsible for the words: "Stalin is Lenin today."

Of course, such remarks could hardly spring up out of nowhere. Stalin had not only "hypnotic" personal qualities for such assessments, but also the objective facts about his career. The "biographical tenderness" for him had a basis, in the form of his extraordinary biography. Arrests, exile, escapes in the pre-October period. Endless nomadic wanderings on the fronts of the Civil War. What will, what optimism, what confidence in success! "You may be sure," he writes to Lenin from Tsaritsyn, "that we will spare no one, neither ourselves nor others, we will give them bread after all." Or in another letter, from the same place: "As for being hysterical—you may be sure that our hands will not tremble. We will deal with the enemies as enemies" (today, of course, these strong-willed outbursts take on a rather different coloring, but at the time they sounded optimistic).

I think Stalin's tremendous role in the victory over Germany is also beyond doubt. It has been confirmed and attested to by the highest authorities in this sphere—our military leaders and commanders. And they have done this even in an atmosphere free from the cult. And it must be said that nobody now returns to the story about his using a globe to conduct the war. Stalin's services in that period of our history are today perhaps the least disputed of all. For all his major miscalculations. The very fact that Stalin took on the leadership of such a vast war and the war was won is enough to eclipse and overshadow many other things in his life.

Many, but alas, not all. Let us not set up an idol!

As the poet said,

"...Don't teach me to pray.

"There is no need!

"There is no going back to the old ways."

4.

There is and can be no return to the past for us—to the blind, semimystical worship of gods and demigods. It is precisely in order to ensure that there is no return to such a past that we must speak and write about it today. Although there cannot be any pleasure for anyone in this raking up of the past... Like, for instance, what is recorded in an official report published in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA on 12 June 1937.

"Yesterday, 11 June of this year, in the hall of the USSR Supreme Court, a Special Tribunal consisting of: chairman—army military lawyer Comrade V.V. Ulrikh, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court Military Collegium, and members of the tribunal—Army Commander 2d Class Comrade Ya.I. Alksnis, USSR deputy people's commissar for defense and chief of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army Air Force; Marshal of the Soviet Union Comrade S.M. Budennyy; Marshal of the Soviet Union Comrade B.K. Blyukher; Army Commander 1st Class Comrade B.M. Shaposhnikov, chief of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army General Staff; Army Commander 1st Class Comrade I.P. Belov, commander of the Belorussian Military District; Army Commander 2d Class Comrade P.Ye. Dybenko, commander of the Leningrad Military District; Army Commander 2d Class comrade N.D. Kashirin, commander of the North Caucasus Military District; and Divisional Commander Comrade Ye.I. Goryachev, commander of the 6th Cavalry Cossack Corps named for Comrade Stalin—examined in closed session, under the procedure laid down by the law of 1 December 1934, the case of M.N. Tukhachevskiy, I.E. Yakir, I.P. Uborevich, A.I. Kork, R.P. Eydeman, B.M. Feldman, V.M. Primakov, and V.K. Putna on a charge of crimes stipulated in Articles 58/1b, 58/8, and 58/11 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

"When the charge was read out, in response to Chairman Comrade Ulrikh's question as to whether the defendants plead guilty to the charges laid against them, all the defendants pleaded guilty in full to the crimes indicated above.

"The court established that the accused indicated above, while in the service of the military intelligence of a foreign state pursuing an unfriendly policy toward the USSR, systematically supplied espionage information to that state's military circles, committed acts of sabotage with the aim of undermining the might of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, worked for the defeat of the Red Army in the event of a military attack on the USSR, and had the aim of promoting the dismemberment of the Soviet Union and the restoration of the power of landowners and capitalists in the USSR.

"The Special Tribunal of the USSR Supreme Court found all the defendants—M.N. Tukhachevskiy, I.E. Yakir, I.P. Uborevich, A.I. Kork, R.P. Eydeman, B.M. Feldman, V.M. Primakov, and V.K. Putna—guilty of violating their military duty (oath), of treason to the Workers' and Peasants' Army, and of treason to the Motherland, and resolved: to strip all the defendants of their military titles, to strip Tukhachevskiy of the title of Marshal of the Soviet Union, and to sentence all of them to the supreme measure of criminal punishment—death by shooting."

The next day, 14 June, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA published Order No. 96 of the people's commissar for defense, signed by Voroshilov, setting forth the sentence and noting that "the enemies of the people were caught red-handed," yet no concrete evidence was cited against them.

Today, when all the military leaders shot under that sentence have been rehabilitated, there is no particular need to comment on it. But mention must be made of the fact that the same fate—shooting, with subsequent rehabilitation—lay in store for the majority of that areopagus, the Special Tribunal, later. This unparalleled perfidy and villainy still awaits its Shakespeare.

...In a sanatorium library, I once picked up Marshal A.M. Vasilevskiy's book "Cause of a Lifetime" ["Delo Vsey Zhizni"], and, leafing through it in search of an episode I remembered, I noticed that figures were penciled in the margins of many of the pages, figures which mysteriously increased as you went through the text. Eventually I realized that someone reading the book before me had carried out a zealously scrupulous calculation of how many times the name of Stalin is mentioned in the book... By the end the figure was impressive, a three-digit number not much smaller than the number of pages in the book. The zealous reader probably wanted to emphasize by this means the extent of Stalin's military services. It is, of course, an unexpected and bizarre method, but perhaps it illuminates a certain facet of the truth—that not one page of the Great Patriotic War, whether bright or dark, not one stage in our path to the great victory can be dissociated from Stalin's name.

But even this does not eclipse, does not overshadow, does not erase the mass repressions, tyranny, and lawlessness perpetrated by him and his immediate entourage, including outrages against military cadres.

However hard it is for many people of my generation to grow accustomed to assessments of the personality of Stalin and certain figures in his entourage that are not unequivocal and that contain inevitable reservations, we have no alternative. You cannot cut bits out of history, any more than you can cut the words out of a song.

Stalin Defended, 'Cosmopolitan' Liberals Lashed

PM151700 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Mar 88 First Edition p 3

[Nina Andreyeva "Letter to the Editorial Office From a Leningrad VUZ Lecturer" under the rubric "Polemics": "I Cannot Waive Principles"—boldface as published]

[Text] I decided to write this letter after lengthy deliberation. I am a chemist and I lecture at Leningrad's Lensovet Technology Institute. Like many others, I also look after a student group. Students nowadays, following the period of social apathy and intellectual dependence, are gradually being charged with the energy of revolutionary changes. Naturally, discussions develop: About the ways of restructuring and its economic and ideological aspects. Glasnost, openness, the disappearance of zones where criticism is taboo, and the emotional heat in mass consciousness, especially among young people, often emerge in the raising of problems which are, to a greater or lesser extent, "prompted" either by Western radio voices or by those of our compatriots who are shaky in their conceptions of the essence of socialism. And the variety of topics that are being discussed! A multiparty system, freedom of religious propaganda, emigration to live abroad, the right to broad discussion of sexual problems in the press, the need to decentralize the leadership of culture, abolition of compulsory military service... There are particularly numerous arguments among students about the country's past.

Of course, we lecturers have to answer the most controversial questions and this demands, in addition to honesty, also knowledge, conviction, broad cultural horizons, serious reflection, and considered opinions. Moreover, these qualities are needed by all educators of young people and not only by members of social science department staffs.

The Petergof Park is a favorite spot for the strolls I take with my students. We stroll along the snow-covered paths, enjoy looking at the famous palaces and statues, and—we argue. We do argue! The young souls are eager to investigate all complexities and to map out their path into the future. I look at my ardent young interlocutors and I think to myself how important it is to help them discover the truth and shape a correct perception of the problems of the society in which they live and which they will have to restructure, and how to give them a correct perception of our historical past, both distant and recent.

What are the misgivings? Here is a simple example: You would think that plenty has been written and said about the Great Patriotic War and the heroism of those who fought in it. Recently, however, a student hostel in our Technology Institute organized a meeting with Hero of the Soviet Union Colonel of the Reserve V.F. Molozeyev. Among other things, he was asked a question about political repressions in the army. The veteran replied that he had never come across any repressions and that many of those who fought in the war with him from its beginning to its end became high-ranking military leaders.... Some were disappointed by this reply. Now that it has become topical, the subject of repressions has been blown out of all proportion in some young people's imagination and overshadows any objective interpretation of the past. Examples like this are by no means isolated.

It is, of course, extremely gratifying that even "technicians" are keenly interested in theoretical problems of the social sciences. But I can neither accept nor agree with all too much of what has now appeared. Verbiage about "terrorism," "the people's political servility," "uninspired social vegetation," "our spiritual slavery," "universal fear," "dominance by boors in power"... These are often the only yarns used to weave the history of our country during the period of the transition to socialism. It is, therefore, not surprising that nihilistic sentiments are intensifying among some students and there are instances of ideological confusion, loss of political bearings, and even ideological omnivorousness. At times you even hear claims that the time has come to take Communists to task for having allegedly "dehumanized" the country's life since 1917.

The Central Committee February Plenum emphasized again the insistent need to ensure that "young people are taught a class-based vision of the world and understanding of the links between universal and class interests. Including understanding of the class essence of the changes occurring in our country." Such a vision of history and of the present is incompatible with the political anecdotes, base gossip, and controversial fantasies which one often encounters today.

I have been reading and rereading sensational articles. For example, what can young people gain—disorientation apart—from revelations about "the counterrevolution in the USSR in the late twenties and early thirties," or about Stalin's "guilt" for the advent in power of fascism and Hitler in Germany? Or the public "reckoning" of the number of "Stalinists" in various generations and social groups?

We are Leningraders and therefore were particularly interested in watching recently the good documentary movie about S.M. Kirov. But at times the text which accompanied the shots not only diverged from the movie's documentary evidence but even made it appear somewhat ambiguous. For example, the movie shots would be showing the outburst of keenness, joie de vivre, and spiritual enthusiasm of people building socialism, while the announcer's text would be about repressions, about lack of information....

I am probably not the only one to have noticed that the calls by party leaders asking the "exposers" to pay attention also to the factual and real achievements at different stages of socialist building seem, as if by command, to bring forth more and more outbursts of "exposures." M. Shatrov's plays are a notable phenomenon in this—alas!—infertile field. On the day the 26th party congress opened, I went to see the play "Blue Horses on Red Grass." I recall young people's excitement at the scene where Lenin's secretary tries to empty a teapot over his head, confusing him with an unfinished clay sculpture. As a matter of fact, some young people had arrived with preprepared banners whose essence was to sling mud at our past and present.... In "The Brest Peace" the playwright and director make Lenin kneel before Trotskiy. So much for the symbolic embodiment of the author's concept. It is further developed in the play "Onward! Onward! Onward!" A play is, of course, not a historical document. But even in a work of art truth is guaranteed by nothing but the author's stance. Especially in the case of political theater.

Playwright Shatrov's stance has been analyzed in detail and in a well reasoned way in reviews by historians published by PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. I would like to express my own opinion. In particular, it is impossible not to agree that Shatrov deviates substantially from the accepted principles of socialist realism. In covering a most crucial period in our country's history, he absolutizes the subjective factor in social development and clearly ignores the objective laws of history as displayed in the activity of the classes and masses. The role played by the proletarian masses and the Bolshevik Party is reduced to the "background" against which the actions of irresponsible politicos unfold.

The reviewers, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist methodology of analyzing specific historical processes, have convincingly shown that Shatrov distorts the history of socialism in our country. He objects to the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, without whose historical contribution we would have nothing to restructure today. The author goes on to accuse Stalin of the assassination of Trotskiy and Kirov and of "isolating" Lenin while he was ill. But how can anyone possibly make biased accusations against historical figures without bothering to adduce any proof....

Unfortunately, the reviewers have failed to show that, despite all his pretensions as an author, the playwright is far from original. I got the impression that, in terms of the logic of his assessments and arguments, he rather closely follows the line of V. Suvarin's book published in Paris in 1935. In his play Shatrov makes his characters say things that were said by the adversaries of Leninism about the course of the revolution, Lenin's role in it, the relationships between Central Committee members at different stages of intraparty struggle.... This is the essence of Shatrov's "fresh reading" of Lenin. Let me add that A. Rybakov, author of "Children of the Arbat," frankly admitted that he had borrowed some incidents from emigre publications.

Without having read the play "Onward! Onward! Onward!" (it had not been published yet), I had read rapturous reviews of it in some publications. What could have been the meaning of such haste? I learned later that the play was being hastily staged.

Soon after the February plenum, PRAVDA published a letter entitled "Coming Full Circle?" and signed by eight of our leading theatrical figures. They warn against what they see as possible delays in staging M. Shatrov's play. This conclusion is drawn on the basis of critical reviews of the play in the press. For some unknown reason, the writers of the letter exclude the writers of critical reviews from the category of those "who treasure the fatherland." How can this be reconciled with their desire for a "stormy and impassioned" discussion of our historical past, both distant and recent? It appears that they alone are entitled to their opinion.

In the numerous discussions now taking place on literally all questions of social sciences, I as a VUZ lecturer am primarily interested in the questions which have a direct effect on young people's ideological and political education, their moral health, and their social optimism. Conversing with students and deliberating with them on controversial problems, I cannot help concluding that

our country has accumulated quite a few anomalies and one-sided interpretations which clearly need to be corrected. I would like to dwell on some of them in particular.

Take for example the question of I.V. Stalin's position in our country's history. The whole obsession with critical attacks is linked with his name and, in my opinion, this obsession centers not so much on the historical individual itself as on the entire highly complex epoch of transition. An epoch linked with unprecedented feats by a whole generation of Soviet people who are today gradually withdrawing from active labor, political, and social work. The industrialization, collectivization, and cultural revolution which brought our country to the ranks of great world powers are being forcibly squeezed into the "personality cult" formula. All this is being questioned. Matters have gone so far that persistent demands for "repentance" are being made of "Stalinists" (and this category can be taken to include anyone you like).... There is rapturous praise for novels and movies which lynch the epoch of storms and onslaught, which is presented as a "tragedy of the peoples." It is true that such attempts to place historical nihilism on a pedestal do not always work. For example, a movie showered with praise by critics can be extremely coolly received by the majority of viewers despite the unprecedented publicity hype.

Let me say right away that neither I nor any members of my family are in any way involved with Stalin, his retinue, his associates, or his extollers. My father was a worker at Leningrad Port, my mother was a fitter at the Kirov Plant. My elder brother also worked there. He, my father, and my sister died in battles against the Hitlerites. One of my relatives was repressed and then rehabilitated after the 20th party congress. I share all Soviet people's anger and indignation about the mass repressions which occurred in the thirties and forties and for which the party-state leadership of the time is to blame. But common sense resolutely protests against the monochrome depiction of contradictory events which now dominates in some press organs.

I support the party call to uphold the honor and dignity of the trailblazers of socialism. I think that these are the party-class positions from which we must assess the historical role of all leaders of the party and the country, including Stalin. In this case, matters cannot be reduced to their "court" aspect or to abstract moralizing by persons far removed both from those stormy times and from the people who had to live and work in those times. And to work in such a fashion as to still be an inspiring example for us today.

For me, as for many people, a decisive role in my assessment of Stalin is played by the candid testimony of contemporaries who clashed directly with him both on our side of the barricades and on the other side. It is the latter that are quite interesting. For instance, take Churchill, who, back in 1919, boasted of his personal contribution to organizing the military intervention by 14 foreign states against the young Soviet republic and, exactly 40 years later, was forced to use the following words to describe Stalin, one of his formidable political opponents:

"He was an outstanding personality who left his mark on our cruel time during his lifetime. Stalin was a man of exceptional energy, erudition, and unbending willpower, harsh, tough, and ruthless in both action and conversation and even I, brought up in the English Parliament, could not oppose him in any way.... A gigantic force resounded in his works. This force is so great in Stalin that he seemed unique among the leaders of all times and all peoples.... His effect on people is irresistible. Whenever he entered the Yalta conference hall, we all rose as if by command. And, strangely, we all stood to attention. Stalin possessed a profound, totally unflappable, logical, and sensible wisdom. He was a past master at finding a way out of the most hopeless situation at a difficult time.... He was a man who used his enemies to destroy his enemy, forcing us—whom he openly called imperialists—to fight the imperialists.... He took over a Russia still using the wooden plow, and left it equipped with atomic weapons." This assessment and admission by the loyal custodian of the British Empire cannot be attributed to either pretense or political timeserving.

The main elements of this description can also be seen in the memoirs of De Gaulle and the reminiscences and correspondence of other European and American politicians who had dealings with Stalin both as wartime ally and as class adversary.

Considerable serious food for thought on this question is provided by Soviet documents which are available to anyone wishing to consult them. Take the two-volume "Correspondence Between the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and the U.S. Presidents and British Prime Ministers During the Great Patriotic War, 1941-1945," published by the Political Literature Publishing House back in 1957. There is no doubt that these documents evoke pride in our state and its position and role in a stormy and changing world. I recall the anthology of Stalin's reports, speeches, and orders dating from the last war on which the heroic generation of the victors of fascism was raised. It could perfectly well be reissued to include documents which were secret at the time, like the dramatic order No 227, which some historians are indeed pressing for. Our young people are familiar with none of these documents. Particular importance for the cultivation of historical awareness attaches to the memoirs of military leaders Zhukov, Vasilevskiy, Golovanov, and Shtemenko and aircraft designer Yakovlev, who all knew the Supreme Commander personally.

There is no question that this period was extremely harsh. But it is also true that personal modesty bordering upon asceticism did not feel ashamed of itself and that

potential Soviet millionaires were still afraid to peck away in the quiet of minor offices and trading centers. Furthermore, we were not so businesslike and pragmatic and prepared young people not for the finer points of consuming wealth accumulated by their parents but for Labor and Defense, without demolishing young people's spiritual world with masterpieces imported from "the other side" or home-grown imitations of mass culture. Imaginary relatives were in no hurry to invite their fellow-tribesmen to "the promised land," turning them into "refuseniks" of socialism.

Long and frank conversations with young interlocutors lead us to the conclusion that the attacks on the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and our country's leaders at the time have not only political, ideological, and moral causes but also a social substratum. There are quite a few people interested in expanding the bridgehead for these attacks, and they are to be found not just on the other side of our borders. Along with professional anticommunists in the West who picked the supposedly democratic slogan of "anti-Stalinism" a long time ago, the offspring of the classes overthrown by the October Revolution, by no means all of whom have managed to forget the material and social losses incurred by their forebears, are still alive and prospering. One must add to them the spiritual heirs of Dan and Martov and other adherents of Russian social democracy, the spiritual followers of Trotskiy or Yagoda, and the offspring of NEP-men, basmachis, and kulaks with grudges against socialism....

It is well-known that any historical figure is shaped by specific socioeconomic and ideological and political conditions which have a determining effect on the subjective-objective selection of contenders called upon to solve diverse social problems. Having appeared on the proscenium of history, in order to "remain afloat" such a contender must satisfy the needs of the epoch and the leading social and political structures and must apply objective laws in his activity, inevitably leaving the "mark" of his personality on historical events. By way of example, when all is said and done, hardly anyone today is disturbed by the personal qualities of Peter the Great, but everyone remembers that during his rule the country became a great European power. Time has condensed the result, which now provides the basis for an assessment of Emperor Peter's historical personality. And the flowers which are invariably laid on his sarcophagus at the Peter and Paul Fortress cathedral are an expression of the respect and gratitude felt by our contemporaries who are far removed from the autocracy.

I think that, no matter how controversial and complex a figure in Soviet history may be, his genuine role in the building and defense of socialism will sooner or later be given an objective and unambiguous assessment. Of course, unambiguous does not mean an assessment that is one-sided, that whitewashes, or that eclectically sums up contradictory phenomena making it possible to produce subjectivism, albeit with slight reservations, "to forgive or not forgive," "to reject or retain" in history. Unambiguous means primarily a specifically historical assessment detached from short-term considerations which would demonstrate—according to historical results!—the dialectics of the correspondence between the individual's actions and the the basic laws governing society's development. In our country these laws were also linked with the solution of the question "Who will defeat whom?" in its domestic and international aspects. If we are to adhere to the Marxist-Leninist methodology of historical analysis, then, in M.S. Gorbachev's words, we must primarily and vividly show how the millions of people lived, how they worked, and what they believed in, as well as the coupling of victories and failures, discoveries and errors, the bright and the tragic, the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses and the violations of socialist legality and even crimes at times.

I was puzzled recently by the revelation by one of my students that the class struggle is supposedly an obsolete term, just like the leading role of the proletariat. It would be fine if she were the only one to claim this. A furious argument was generated, for example, by a respected academician's recent assertion that present-day relations between states from the two different socioeconomic systems apparently lack any class content. I assume that the academician did not deem it necessary to explain why it was that, for several decades, he wrote exactly the opposite—namely that peaceful coexistence is nothing but a form of class struggle in the international arena. It seems that the philosopher has now rejected this view. Never mind, people can change their minds. It does seem to me, however, that duty would nevertheless command a leading philosopher to explain at least to those who have studied and are studying his books: What is happening today, does the international working class no longer oppose world capital as embodied in its state and political organs?

It seems to me that many of the present debates center on this same question: Which class or stratum of society is the leading and mobilizing force of restructuring? This in particular was discussed in an interview with writer A. Prokhanov published by our city newspaper LENINGRADSKIY RABOCHIY. Prokhanov proceeds from the premise that the specific nature of the present state of social consciousness is typified by the presence of two ideological currents or, as he puts it, "alternative towers" which are trying, from different directions, to overcome the "socialism which has been built in battles" in our country. Though he exaggerates the significance and acuteness of the duel between these two "towers," the writer is nevertheless correct in emphasizing that "they agree only on the slaughter of socialist values." But both of them, so their ideologists claim, are "for restructuring."

The first and most swollen ideological current which has already manifested itself in the course of restructuring claims to offer a model of some sort of left-wing liberal intellectual socialism which allegedly expresses the most genuine humanism, "cleansed" of class accretions. Its

champions counter proletarian collectivism with the "intrinsic value of the individual"—modernistic quests in the cultural sphere, God-seeking tendencies, technocratic idols, homilies to the "democratic" charms of contemporary capitalism, and kowtowing to its real and supposed achievements. Its spokesmen claim that what we have built is supposedly not proper socialism, and that apparently "an alliance between political leadership and progressive intelligentsia has been formed for the first time in history" only today. While millions of people on our planet are dying from starvation, epidemics, and military adventures by imperialism, they demand immediate formulation of a "legal code to protect animal rights," attribute an extraordinary and supernatural reason to nature, and claim that intelligence is not a social but a biological quality genetically transmitted from parents to children. Can you explain to me what all this means?

It is the champions of "left-wing liberal socialism" who shape the tendency toward falsifying the history of socialism. They try to make us believe that the country's past was nothing but mistakes and crimes, keeping silent about the greatest achievements of the past and the present. Claiming full possession of historical truth, they replace the sociopolitical criterion of society's development with scholastic ethical categories. I would very much like to know who and why needed to ensure that every prominent leader of the party Central Committee and the Soviet Government—once out of office—was compromised and discredited because of actual and alleged mistakes and errors committed when solving the most complex problems in the course of historical trailblazing? Where are the origins of this passion of ours to undermine the prestige and dignity of leaders of the world's first socialist country?

Another peculiarity of the views held by "left-wing liberals" is an overt or covert cosmopolitan tendency, some kind of non-national "internationalism." I read somewhere about an incident after the revolution when a delegation of merchants and factory owners called on Trotskiy at the Petrograd Soviet "as a Jew" to complain about oppression by the Red Guards, and he declared that he was "not a Jew but an internationalist," which really puzzled the petitioners.

In Trotskiy's views, the idea of "national" connoted a certain inferiority and limitation compared with the "international." This is why he emphasized October's "national tradition," wrote about "the national element in Lenin," claimed that the Russian people "had inherited no cultural heritage at all," and so on. We are somehow embarrassed to say that it was indeed the Russian proletariat, whom the Trotskiyites treated as "backward and uncultured," who accomplished—in Lenin's words—"three Russian revolutions" and that the Slav peoples stood in the vanguard of mankind's battle against fascism.

This, of course, is not to denigrate the historical contribution of other nations and ethnic groups. This, as it is said nowadays, is only to ensure the full historical truth.... When students ask me how come thousands of small villages in the non-Chernozem Zone and Siberia are deserted, I reply that this is part of the high price we had to pay for victory and the postwar restoration of the national economy, just like the irretrievable loss of large numbers of monuments of Russian national culture. I am also convinced: Any denigration of the importance of historical consciousness produces a pacifist erosion of defense and patriotic consciousness, as well as a desire to categorize the slightest expressions of Great Russian national pride as manifestations of great power chauvinism.

Here is something else that also worries me: The practice of "refusenikism" of socialism is nowadays linked with militant cosmopolitanism. Unfortunately, we remember it suddenly only when its neophytes plague us with their outrages in front of the Smolnyy or by the Kremlin walls. Moreover, we are gradually being trained to perceive the aforementioned phenomenon as some sort of almost innocent change of "place of residence" rather than as class and national betrayal by persons most of whom graduated from VUZ's and completed their postgraduate studies thanks to our own nationwide funds. Generally speaking, some people are inclined to look upon "refusenikism" as some sort of manifestation of "democracy" and the "rights of man," whose talents were prevented from flourishing by "stagnant socialism." And if it so happens that people over there, in the "free world," fail to appreciate bubbling entrepreneurship and "genius" and the special services are not interested in the trading of conscience, one can always return....

It is well-known that, according to their specific historical role, K. Marx and F. Engels described entire nations at a given stage of their history as "counterrevolutionary"—and I emphasize, not classes, not strata, but nations. Standing on the firm foundation of the class approach, they did not hesitate to use sharp terms to describe a number of nations, including Russians and Poles, and even the nationalities to which they themselves belonged. The founders of the scientific-proletarian world outlook seem to remind us that, in the fraternal community of Soviet peoples, every nation and ethnic group must "cherish its honor from youth" and not allow itself to be provoked into nationalist and chauvinist sentiments. Each people's national pride and national dignity must be organically fused with the internationalism of the united socialist community.

While "neoliberals" look toward the West, the other "alternative tower," to use Prokhanov's expression, the "conservationists and traditionalists," are striving "to overcome socialism by regression." In other words, by reverting to the social forms of presocialist Russia. The spokesmen of this variety of "peasant socialism" are fascinated by this image. In their opinion, the moral values accumulated by peasant communes in the misty

fog of the centuries, were lost 100 years ago. The "traditionalists" certainly deserve credit for what they have done in the exposure of corruption, the fair solution of ecological problems, the struggle against alcoholism, the protection of historical monuments, and the opposition to dominance by mass culture, which they correctly evaluate as consumerist mania...

At the same time, the views of the ideologists of "peasant socialism" contain a lack of understanding of October's historical importance for the fate of the fatherland, a one-sided assessment of collectivization as a "terrible atrocity against the peasantry," an uncritical perception of mystical religious Russian philosophy and the old tsarist concepts in our historical science, and an unwillingness to perceive the postrevolutionary stratification of the peasantry and the revolutionary role of the working class.

When it comes to the class struggle in the countryside, for example, excessive emphasis is often placed on "rural" commissars who "shot middle peasants in the back." There were, of course, all sorts of commissars at the height of the revolutionary conflagration in our vast country. But the mainstream of our life was nevertheless determined by commissars who were shot at. Commissars who had stars carved on their backs or were burned alive. The price the "attacking class" had to pay consisted not only of the lives of commissars, Chekists, rural Bolsheviks, members of the Committees of Poor Peasantry, or the "Twenty Thousand," but also those of the first tractor drivers, rural correspondents, girl teachers, rural Komsomol members, the lives of tens of thousands of other unknown fighters for socialism.

The education of young people is rendered even more complex by the fact that informal organizations and associations are being formed in the wake of the ideas of "neoliberals" and "neo-Slavophiles." Sometimes the upper hand in their leadership is gained by extremist elements capable of provocations. A politicization of these informal organizations on the basis of a by no means socialist pluralism has recently emerged. Leaders of these organizations often speak of "power-sharing" on the basis of a "parliamentary system," "free trade unions," "autonomous publishing houses," and so on. In my view, all this leads to the conclusion that the main and cardinal issue of the debates now taking place in the country is this question: Whether or not to recognize the leading role of the party and the working class in socialist building and therefore in restructuring. Of course, with all the ensuing theoretical and practical conclusions for politics, economics, and ideology.

This key problem of social historical world outlook produces the question of the role of socialist ideology in the spiritual development of Soviet society. By the way, this question was emphasized by K. Kautskiy back toward the end of 1917, when, in one of his brochures devoted to October, he declared that socialism is distinguished by iron planning and discipline in the economy and by anarchy in ideology and spiritual life. This caused jubilation among Mensheviks, Socialist Revolutionaries, and other petty bourgeois ideologists, but was firmly rebuffed by Lenin and his comrades-in-arms, who consistently defended, as they said at the time, the "commanding heights" of scientific proletarian ideology.

Let us recall: When V.I. Lenin clashed with sociologist Pitirim Sorokin, who was popular at the time, over the latter's manipulations of statistics on divorce among residents of Petrograd and with Professor Vipper over his religious conservationist writings (which, incidentally, seem quite innocent compared with what is being printed now), he attributed the appearance of these publications to inexperience among mass media workers at the time and concluded that "the working class in Russia has managed to gain power but still has not learned how to use it." Otherwise, Vladimir Ilich pointed out, the revolutionary proletariat would have "politely shown the door" out of the country to these professors and writers who "are no more suited" to educating the masses than "notorious libertines would be suited as mentors in education establishments for youngsters." As a matter of fact, many of the 164 who were exiled at the end of 1922 according to the list issued by the All-Russia Central Executive Committee returned home later and honestly served their people, including Prof Vipper.

It seems to me that the question of the role and position of socialist ideology is extremely acute today. The authors of timeserving articles under the guise of moral and spiritual "cleansing" erode the dividing lines and criteria of scientific ideology, manipulate glasnost, and foster nonsocialist pluralism, which objectively applies the brakes on restructuring in the public conscience. This has a particularly painful effect on young people, which, I repeat, is clearly sensed by us VUZ lecturers, schoolteachers, and all who have to deal with young people's problems. As M.S. Gorbachev said at the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum, "our actions in the spiritual sphere—and maybe primarily and precisely there—must be guided by our Marxist-Leninist principles. Principles, comrades, must not be compromised on any pretext whatever."

This is what we stand for now, this is what we will continue to stand for. Principles were not given to us as a gift, we have fought for them at crucial turning points in the fatherland's history.

Rehabilitation of Bukharin, Others Pondered

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[Article by Lev Ovrutskiy: "The Measure of the Law and the Excesses of Lawlessness"]

[Text] The political lexicon tends toward unambiguity and therefore avoids figurative language. About restructuring they say—a "fresh wind," a "wind of change." At best, bordering on poetic license, a "fresh wind of

change." Wishing to make what contribution I can to the process of metaphorization, while continuing the meteorological theme, I would compare restructuring to spring rain washing away the gray film of cataracts from our crystalline lenses, making our vision sharper and more detailed.

On recovering our sight we notice that life has gotten bigger. Ordinary events used just to disappear; today each has acquired a distinct significance and meaning. But one recent event stands out amid this unusual sequence. I am talking about the 4 February USSR Supreme Court resolution quashing the sentences passed on N.I. Bukharin, A.I. Rykov, A.P. Rozengolts, M.A. Chernov, P.P. Bulanov, L.G. Levin, I.N. Kazakov, V.A. Maksimov-Dikovskiy, P.P. Kryuchkov, and Kh.G. Rakovskiy. In March 1938 they were convicted in the case of the so-called anti-Soviet "right-wing Trotskiyist bloc."

The old dogmas, desiccated herbarium dwellers, are crumbling. Increasingly social justice is becoming historical justice. I believe that the majority of readers will have straightened their shoulders and sighed with relief and hope. And made some atheist's equivalent of the sign of the cross: "At long last." They had believed and waited. Nigh on 50 years had passed.

The waiting was over.

Truth is not just a bitter medicine, but one that burns the aorta. Sparing dosage, while not incontrovertible, is at least understandable. The doctor's vade mecum: Do not rip the bandage off an unhealed wound, but exercise caution and trepidation. We know how long the Supreme Court took to scrupulously undo what one might think was a simple tangle. Don't distract us and don't fuss, they tell us when we get impatient. Well, I accept that justice takes its time and I discern an element of inevitability in this basic habit that it has.

Rehabilitation is like a milestone on the road of knowledge, which has been described as a hard road. A notch marking memory, marking repentance. Famusov's "it is signed, so it need concern you no more" is all right for an anonymous letter, but not for a public denial.

Let us look back.

I have in my hands the "Court Report on the Case of the Anti-Soviet 'Right-Wing Trotskiyist Bloc,'" published at that time, in 1938. It is available to the reader, unlike, for example, the report on the Third Congress of Soviets, which for some reason is kept in the special store. A gray, unremarkable volume of 385 pages with a corresponding price: 3 rubles 85 kopeks. A kopek a page. In old, very old money, of course.

Vyshinskiy: What were your aims?...

Bukharin: The prognosis was that there would be a big swing in the direction of capitalism.

Vyshinskiy: And what happened?

Bukharin: The opposite happened.

Vyshinskiy: The complete victory of socialism occurred.

Bukharin: The complete victory of socialism occurred.

Vyshinskiy: And the complete failure of your prognosis.

Bukharin: And the complete failure of our prognosis...

Vyshinskiy: In short, you were hurtling toward blatant, unbridled fascism.

Bukharin: Yes, that is true... Could we please get down to the account of my criminal activity...

Here is an excerpt from the "testimony" of A.I. Rykov:

Rykov: ...The largest national republics are breaking away from the USSR....

Vyshinskiy: So, you mean the dismemberment of the USSR, the breaking away of a number of republics?

Rykov: Yes.

Vyshinskiy: To give the fascists a bridgehead for an attack and victory?

Rykov: Yes, without any doubt.

Vyshinskiy: So you pursued your criminal intentions even if it meant betrayal?

Rykov: Of course.

How did the people believe in this? This is the most important question of all, and journalists are anxiously debating the issue.

At that time class instincts were honed to the maximum, one of them wrote. It is hard to agree with this. Class instinct is evidently reflected in the fact that you unerringly distinguish your own people from the other side. In this case, however, as in the theater of the absurd, the revolutionary is taken for the saboteur, the Bolshevik for the spy. It would be more appropriate to talk about atrophied class instinct rather than honed class instinct.

Mediaeval otolaryngologists have passed some interesting observations on to us. It transpires that when the "witch hunts" began once again, many people's nostrils started to twitch, clearly smelling sulfur in the air, which certainly does not constitute evidence of a sharpened olfactory sense. Nor, incidentally, is it evidence of an excess of sulfur in the atmosphere.

In the search for an answer we must not forget that, in conformity with normal chronology, the year 1938 was preceded by 1937. People disappeared from their home on the embankment and from thousands more homes with fascinating regularity. These crimes, it was said from the lofty tribune, cannot be forgiven or forgotten. But crimes have the ability to give rise to righteous anger if exposed and overwhelming fear if they remain unpunished.

This fear is not proportional to the degree of understanding of what has happened—the learned sage and the unknown plowman who falls into a stupor at the mere mention of the word "hydroelectric power station" are equally susceptible to it.

According to Montaigne, the Greeks distinguished a particular type of fear which is not dependent on our mental abilities. This fear, in their opinion, arises without any obvious cause and is instilled from above. It sometimes grips an entire nation.

The name of this celestial being who instills fear is known to us all. As are his distinguishing features: Face—pockmarked, height—below average, military title—generalissimo.

This fear accomplishes metamorphoses: Conviction and faith are transformed into mindless belief, hope becomes frenzied zeal. Sincere applause takes on the swoon-inducing length of standing ovations, and the most noble-minded enthusiasm closes ranks with morbid exaltation. Fear forces one to think the unthinkable: Your father is your enemy, your brother is Cain, your husband must be denounced. And why, indeed, should one not imagine that someone else is a spy and a saboteur? Particularly if you read the following verbatim extract:

Vyshinskiy: So let us briefly sum up what you yourself admit to being guilty of in this case.

Sharangovich: First, that I am a traitor to my country.

Vyshinskiy: An old Polish spy.

Sharangovich: Second, I am a conspirator. Third, I have been a direct party to acts of sabotage.

Vyshinskiy: No, third, you are most certainly one of the main leaders of the national fascist group in Belorussia and an active member of the "right-wing Trotskiyist anti-Soviet bloc."

Sharangovich: That is correct. I was later personally involved in sabotage.

Vyshinskiy: Sabotage.

Sharangovich: That is correct.

Chairman (Ulrich): The organizer of terrorist acts against party and government leaders.

Sharangovich: That is correct.

Chairman: And you did all this in order to...

Sharangovich: And I did all this in order to overthrow Soviet power, in order to see the triumph of fascism, in order to see the Soviet Union defeated in the event of a war against the fascist states.

Chairman: By working for the dismemberment of the USSR, the partition of Belorussia, and its transformation into...

Sharangovich: Its transformation into a capitalist state under the yoke of Polish landowners and capitalists.

The reader will diagnose delirium without any hesitation.

You have suddenly become mighty bold, will be the objection of some semirespectable housing committee member who for some inexplicable reason persists in mispronouncing the words "modern youth."

But these are signs of the times; in the past people believed in delirium as a revelation, because fear imparted phantasmagorical qualities to logical, comprehensible existence. Marx, incidentally, wrote of the irrationality inherent in the bourgeois soul. But the possibility cannot be ruled out that at certain moments of intolerable strain in history, this irrationality, a kind of illness, may also descend on the worker-peasant soul. Our sociologists and psychologists would do well to think about this. Scientific research could possibly establish that fear is the real heart of the generator which gives rise to irrational behavior.

Gertsen's Doctor Krupov melancholically observes that history is the autobiography of a madman. Here the old man was making unwarranted generalizations and "went too far," of course. But at the same time there is something in his paradoxical statements of relevance to our theme. "Historians," he writes in his essay on mental illnesses, "of whom the majority are not doctors, do not know what features to draw our attention to; they everywhere try to impose a contrived logic and necessity on all nations and events after the fact; actually, quite the opposite is needed: History must be viewed from a pathological standpoint, historical figures from the standpoint of insanity, and historical events from the standpoint of absurdity and needlessness."

We are perhaps already firmly established in the view that the political trials of the thirties were both absurd and needless. We have yet to come to regard those who managed the celebrated "trials" and were responsible for the purge years "from the standpoint of insanity."

Here is an example: G.G. Yagoda. His contemporaries describe him as a man of average height, apparently even-tempered and practical, with a receding chin and neat moustache. He was a member of the party from

1907. He was in charge of party work in Nizhniy Novgorod and Petrograd. In 1919-1922 he was a member of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade Collegium; from 1920 he held leading office on the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counterrevolution and Sabotage, the State Political Administration, the United State Political Administration, and the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs. At the 17th party congress he was elected to the Central Committee. In May 1934 he became chairman of the United State Political Administration and people's commissar of internal affairs, and in September 1936 he resigned, ostensibly to be transferred to the position of people's commissar of communications. In 1937 he was removed from the Central Committee, dropped from the party, and arrested.

I assume the reader will have noticed that the USSR Prosecutor's Office did not lodge an appeal regarding G.G. Yagoda, who was charged with being a member of an anti-Soviet "right-wing Trotskiyist bloc."

Everyone will easily appreciate the feelings behind this decision. After all, Yagoda paved the way for the "Yezhov terror" and was an organizer of the so-called "Kirov current" and many others. He himself fell victim to the diabolical mechanism he had so carefully tuned.

I admit, I am biased. Like many other people, I have a score to settle with this man and others like him. My martyrology, my remembrance book. In those unforgettable years four of my uncles were accused of spying for Iran. Three were shot after pleading guilty. The fourth, who was young and strong, was lucky. Whatever they did to him he denied everything and happily got off with a "25-year stretch" [chetvertak]. He was completely illiterate, as Babel would not have failed to point out. He worked as a "baligula," that is, a drayman, in the town of Kryzhopol in the Ukraine. This little town was famous for its apple orchards, which is probably why it was of such special interest to Iranian intelligence.

Uncle Yasha came home in 1956 and died soon after. Catching sight of a globe on my desk when I was in the 3d grade, he said: "Listen, could you point out Iran to me so that I know where it is at long last?" Neither before or since have I ever met anyone who scrutinized the nondescript little yellow blob on a student's globe so long, so silently, and with such concentration. His facial muscles twitched as he tried to understand the geography of the Near East.

However...

How strongly we sympathize with Klaas's grievous fate. Those who were responsible for this fate will be judged for the auto-da-fe and not for robbing the corner store. Perhaps they should be judged for both.

Yagoda "confessed" that he was guilty of being one of the leaders of the "right-wing Trotskiyist underground bloc" which aimed to overthrow Soviet power and restore capitalism in the Soviet Union. Yagoda "assumed" the blame for spying for Trotskiy and transferring state funds to him, organizing the murders of Menzhinskiy, Kuybyshev, and Gorkiy, and making an attempt on Yezhov's life by spraying the blinds in his office with poison (how squalid the imagination of the prosecutor!).

It is clear from the "Court Report" that he issued criminal instructions to people whose innocence has now been established by the Supreme Court. By dispatching vials of poison to invisible beings and conspiratorially negotiating with a void, Yagoda froze forever as a question mark, in a pose whose comicality is degrading to justice.

Learning to be democratic means, among other things, learning not to go beyond the bounds of legality in one's thoughts and actions. In the ideal with which we associate our notions of the highest supervisory body's activity, morality is fully incorporated and included in the law and is not present in it as a foreign body or in the form of a suspension or sediment. Any conflicts which do arise in this sphere serve to highlight either declining ethical imperatives or imperfect legislative norms.

The biblical principle which says "with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again" reveals its own inadequacy when coming into contact with even the most ordinary morality. You have only to remember the "golden rule" of Stalin's prewar strategy: "We will answer one blow from the enemy with three of our own!"

And a hit below the belt?

Are we to answer baseness with baseness, vileness with vileness, and meanness with meanness?

No. Only the measure of the law can counter the excesses of lawlessness. By appealing to the law we thereby mark the border between revenge and retribution. There is one justice for all: for saints and hypocrites, for murderers and the slain. Justice is indivisible, as truth and justice are indivisible. Any action brought in the name of millions must be incontestable.

Economic

Joint Venture Protocol Signed With U.S., Italy

LD161049 Moscow TASS in English 1030 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—A protocol of intent to create the biggest joint venture in the USSR was signed today between the USSR Ministry of the Oil Industry and an international group consisting of the industrial

corporations Occidental Petroleum Corporation (USA), Montedison and Enichem, a subsidiary of the ENI concern (Italy) and Marubeni (Japan).

The protocol provides for the creation of a petrochemical complex "Tenghizpolymer" which will use casing head gas from the Tenghiz deposit in the Caspian Sea area on the territory of the USSR. The total volume of capital investment to implement the project amounts to six billion dollars.

It is expected that the annual output of this complex will be 400,000 tons of polypropylene, 600,000 tons of polyethylene, more than a million tons of granulated sulphur and large quantities of other chemical products. At least 50 per cent of the total is to be sold on the international market through the international group.

The international group will hold not more than 49 per cent of the joint venture's statutory capital. Its members intend to make equal contributions to their parts of this capital. The protocol was signed: from the Soviet side by the minister of the oil industry of the USSR Vasiliy Dinkov, for the international group by Armand Hammer, chairman of the board of directors and C. E. O. of Occidental Petroleum corporation, Raul Gardini, chairman of Montedison, Kazuo Haruna, chairman of the board of directors of Marubeni, Lorenzo Necci, chairman of Enichem.

Female Mill Workers' Poor Conditions Outlined

PM151355 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Mar 88 p 2

[Own correspondent O. Yegorova report: "Oh, Men... "]

[Text] Vitebskaya Oblast—They say that women's hands never get tired. They will never let you down. They are charitable. Women's hands are reliable and tender, industrious and devoted. They never ask for assistance. The only thing they cannot do is... shift the burden of cares onto men's shoulders.

"My hands are aching," the girl bitterly cries. She is tired. Sit down for a bit? A distraction? Stretch her hands? Wash her face?—There is no time and no place for this. Behind her there are looms, looms, and more looms... They work. They hum. They cannot wait while she rests. She cannot stop—she will let down her friends. If you personally do not fulfill your plan, everyone will lose out. She smiles through her tears. Once again she walks over to the clattering looms. Or rather, does not walk, but flies like a little butterfly around the cramped shop.

What do these girls from the linen combine dream about? Imagine: not a lot. Of a cleaner, lighter, less noisy shop. But production commands that they dream about something completely different. Like, for example, operating more and more looms. So they try. They operate more and more...

Over there, at the very end of the section, a loom once again starts clattering. She flies not like a butterfly but like a bullet. She gets there in time. Quite naturally, afraid that the loom will stop, she once again forgets that her hands are aching. Nearby there is a repairman. He arrived in time. She calms down. Still, men's shoulders are at hand...

But note, what do these men do in the restroom for hours at a time? They get bored. They smoke. They crumple yesterday's papers. Who are they? Why do they suffer without work? Why aren't they in the shop now? Perhaps they have no work right now? Nothing of the kind. It is noisy in the shop. It is dusty in the shop. How can you complain about the repairmen, they say? They are responsible only for the state of the looms. There are no breakdowns, so they can sit down.

It goes without saying that the complaints are not against the repair personnel but against the men. There is simply not enough continuous support for the girls.

The intensity of their work can perhaps be compared with miners' work. But, as is well-known, women are not allowed into the mines. By the way, the women weavers have followed on from men weavers. So these looms are traditionally meant for men. But the day came when women did not want to give in to men in any way, and stood at the same looms. Probably, the looms should be changed and new, lighter ones should be invented. But the men have not done that. They have grown used to women's hands' doing the job, not letting you down, and not demanding... What kind of work do the men do here? They are engineers, repairmen, managers. These are no less responsible areas of production. But, say what you like, it is less labor-intensive and less noisy. Whereas 80 percent of the women at the linen combine suffer from neuritis and other vocational illnesses.

When I think of the great successes of this advanced republican enterprise which has switched to economic accountability, then I think about the success in the economy and about these girls with their aching hands, sore eyes, deteriorating hearing, and shattered nervous systems. Is work going well at the plant? Yes, not badly. But this means that these girls have mastered one, perhaps more than one extra loom meant for the average man. They will go on mastering them—they cannot imagine marking time.

Agricultural

Nikonov, Murakhovskiy Address Livestock Seminar

PM151111 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Mar 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Important Reserve of Livestock Raising"]

[Text] Questions of the further improvement of pedigree breeding in the country's livestock raising were discussed at an all-union conference-seminar organized by the USSR Gosagroprom. It was held in Moscow 3-4 March.

Chiefs of the agriculture and food industry departments of union republic Communist Party Central Committees and party kraykoms and obkoms, deputy chairmen of union and autonomous republic, kray, and oblast agro-industrial committees, leaders of pedigree breeding associations, scientific research institutes, selection centers, and the country's leading pedigree farms, representatives of ministries producing equipment for selection and pedigree breeding, and senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR and RSFSR Councils of Ministers, and ministries and departments of the agro-industrial complex were invited.

At the USSR National Economic Achievements Exhibition the conference participants familiarized themselves with the exhibition "The Enhancement of Pedigree Breeding Efficiency and the Achievements of Selection in Livestock Raising" and exchanged experience of practical work in this area.

At the plenary session the report by L.K. Ernst, vice president of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences, and the speeches made a detailed examination of the state of pedigree breeding in livestock raising and its scientific backup and measures to further improve them. It was pointed out that livestock raising has begun to develop more stably over the past 2 years, resulting in increased production in the sector. At the same time, the problem of further increasing milk and meat production to improve the supply to the population remains urgent. Its resolution, together with the strengthening of the feed base and the improvement of forms of labor organization in the sector, is linked to a considerable degree with the accelerated creation of highly productive herds.

It was emphasized that very serious attention must be devoted to further improving the pedigree and productive qualities of livestock and poultry. This is the aim of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Measures To Enhance the Efficiency and Organization of Pedigree Breeding in Livestock Raising." During the next 5-year periods we are faced with increasing the potential of dairy productivity to a national average of 5,000 kg of milk per cow per year and to 6,000-7,000 kg in regions of intensive livestock raising, significantly increasing the average daily weight gain of cattle and hogs, and creating flocks of sheep with improved productive qualities.

Livestock raising's best genetic stock is now concentrated on pedigree farms. The success of the cause largely depends on their work. Success is achieved where activity in all areas of the sector's intensification is efficiently organized. At the same time, the pedigree base remains weak in the Urals, Siberia, Central Asia, the Transcaucasus, and a number of other regions.

Selection centers are called upon to play a responsible role in improving the pedigree and productive qualities of all species of animals and poultry. The system of large-scale selection has substantially accelerated the process of breeds' genetic improvement. However, a number of selection centers are still not operating efficiently enough. Omissions in the organization of this area of work were analyzed at the conference-seminar.

The introduction into production of the achievements of biotechnology, including cell and genetic engineering, is an important area of qualitative breed improvement. Positive results have been obtained in this field at the All-Union Livestock Raising Institute, where efficient use is made of animal embryo transplantation methods. However, at scientific establishments in the Ukraine, Uzbekistan, and a number of other regions the efficiency of the work of embryo transplantation centers and points remains low.

The state is channeling considerable resources into realizing measures to increase the return and improve the organization of pedigree breeding in livestock raising. The task of the sector's workers, the conference emphasized, is to make the most efficient use of these resources.

The conference-seminar was addressed by V.P. Nikonov, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, and V.S. Murakhovskiy, USSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman and USSR Gosagroprom chairman.

'Restructuring Spotlight' Reviews Sheep Losses

OW150809 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0410 GMT on 11 March carries the scheduled 10-minute "Restructuring Spotlight" program presented by political observer Anatoliy Ivashchenko.

As video shows a large number of sheep carcasses, he cites the 13 November 1987 report of the "Restructuring Spotlight" program on heavy losses of sheep in Kalmyk ASSR during the previous year, saying that as a result "leaders of Kalmyk ASSR Agroprom were fired, and several rayon party secretaries and rayispolkom chairmen were severely punished. The People's Control organs alone initiated cases against 87 officials. We still, however, do not know why the animal population was not balanced with the fodder supply and why 600,000 sheep were buried instead of being sent to meat combines."

Ivashchenko presents a report by P. Guskov, who interviews a shepherd citing poor management and weather conditions, admitting that he himself lost about 200 head of sheep out of 800. Two officials, a sovkhoz director and raykom First Secretary Badmayev, criticize their former approach and "outdated methods" and report certain improvements.

Ivashchenko continues: "State insurance paid R40 million for the losses incurred by the republic. How was this enormous sum used? Do you think it was used to

strengthen the fodder supply and solve other organizational problems? No—they immediately started to buy an enormous number of livestock from the very same neighbors from whom they were buying hay. They paid R100-120 for each sheep. Not a small sum, as you can see. Why did they do it? It is an old tactic and it does not pay, but nevertheless it repeats itself. The matter lies in the fact that in Kalmyk ASSR they get only 2.8 kg of wool from each sheep. One cannot fulfill the plan with this low index, so they inflate the sheep population with the hope of receiving at least a pinch of wool from a bad sheep. I will cite some interesting figures for you which show the result of this tactic."

He cites from a document: "34,504 sheep died there in September; 27,613 in October, 14,120 in the following month, and 12,041 sheep were buried in December." He explains: "For every hundred good and healthy sheep sellers offered 150 of those unfit for anything."

Ivashchenko says: "The threat of fodder shortage in the branch is as bad as it was before. Moreover, the situation is getting worse. It lies in the fact that we can see how the formerly rich black soil is becoming a new desert, which will have to be mapped soon. This desert now exceeds half a million hectares, while Kalmyk ASSR has only 3.5 million hectares of natural pasture. It is a large area, but 2.5 million are trampled to such an extent that they are useless for pasture. Only 200,000 hectares are still in a normal condition." Ivashchenko concludes that the first drought will cause a repetition of the disaster.

Media Report 10-14 Mar Agricultural Developments

LD150050 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 10-14 March. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

10 March

The sowing of barley, wheat, and perennial grass has started in Chu Valley, Kirghizia. Only first class seeds are being sown. On the whole, over 500,000 hectare of plowed land in Kirghizia are to be sown with cereals and feed crops.

11 March

In Stavropol Oblast about 14,000 tractors have been overhauled prior to the spring sowing campaign. (0000)

The seeds of early ripening hybrid corn are being sent to Kurgan Oblast from southern republics and from abroad. The crop is to be sown in spring on about 200,000 hectares in the oblast. (0304)

Spring sowing of oats, peas, feed mixes, and perennial grasses is underway in Kuban and in Checheno-Ingushetiya. Sowing of corn for grain has begun in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. Mass cereal sowing is proceeding in the south of Kazakhstan. (1600)

12 March

Spring sowing is starting in the North Caucasus Region. The first sowing units have appeared in the fields of the southernmost areas of Kuban and the Checheno-Ingush Autonomous Republic. Spring field operations are being carried out in 11 union republics. (0204)

Spring crops have been sown on 100,000 hectares in Uzbekistan as of this morning. The sowing is proceeding faster almost everywhere than it did last year. (0700)

Sowing of corn for grain has started in Turkmenistan. Each farm has allocated at least 300 hectares to corn by reducing the planting of cotton. Over 60,000 hectares of irrigated land will be planted with corn for grain. (1200)

13 March

No fileworthy items monitored.

14 March

Sowing of early barley and perennial grasses started in Chimkent Oblast today. (1200)

Cotton sowing will start soon in Uzbekistan. Seeds are available but only just over one-third of the procured seed stock is first class. Many cotton ginning mills of the Syr-Darya and Dzhizak Oblast agro-industrial committees attempted to deliver bad seeds to the farms, but their inteniton was foiled by Gossemnadzor [state seed inspection agency] officials. (1200)

Commentator Aleksandr Ruvinskiy reports that early spring crops have been sown over hundreds of thousands of hectares. In Central Asia they are already sowing heat loving corn grain and will soon start work in the cotton fields. In Belorussia, the south of the Russian Federation, and in the Ukraine, where there has been little snow, the soil requires mineral fertilizers which a number of enterprises have failed to deliver in sufficient quantitites. shortages of seeds are also beign experienced. In the non-Chernozem Zone for instance, as in many other regions where pulse crops are being cultivated, farms have only 65 percent of the seeds they need. The Russian Federation has received 90 percent of the seed potatoes required, while Ivanovo Oblast has been supplied with only 70 percent.

Additional work results from the fact that the autumn plowing and sowing of winter crops were not carried out in many places, the non-Chernozem Zone for instance, in autumn. Most of the machines are ready, farm machine operators now, in the context of financial

autonomy, are getting their own workshops to make repairs, since they do them more cheaply and reliably than the specialized repair services. (1900)

Scientific

'Cosmos-1932' Satellite Launched 14 March

LD151557 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1543 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow 15 Mar (TASS)—Another artificial earth satellite, Cosmos-1932, was launched in the Soviet Union on Monday, 14 March, to continue with space research.

The satellite has been placed in an orbit with the following parameters:

- the initial period of revolution—89.7 minutes;

- the apogee—279 km;

- the perigee—256 km;

- the orbital inclination—65 degrees.

The apparatus on board the satellite is working normally.

'Cosmos-1933' Satellite Launched 15 March

LD160823 Moscow TASS in English 0822 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—The Cosmos-1933 artificial earth satellite, the next in turn, was launched in the USSR on March 15, 1988.

Scientific instruments intended for further space exploration are installed on board the satellite.

The satellite was put into orbit with the following parametres:

- the initial period of revolution—97.7 minutes,

- the maximum distance from the earth's surface—675 km,

- The minimal distance from the earth's surface—650 km,

- the inclination of the orbit—82.5 degrees.

The equipment installed on board the satellite is functioning normally.

Military

Yazov, Lizichev Visit Armed Forces Exhibition

PM151717 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Mar 88 Second Edition p 2

["Our correspondent" report: "Familiarization With Exhibition"]

[Text] The all-union fine art exhibition "Guarding Socialism's Gains" in the capital's Central Exhibition Hall is devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy. Visitors come here alone, in families, or with excursion groups to see works which capture the heroic history and the present day of our Armed Forces in specific and generalized images.

Last Sunday the exhibition was visited by Army General D. Yazov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and USSR minister of defense, and Army General A. Lizichev, Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate chief. Present at their familiarization with the exhibition were USSR People's Artist B. Ugarov, president of the USSR Academy of Arts; USSR People's Artist T. Salakhov, USSR Artists' Union Board first secretary; V. Kazenin, USSR deputy minister of culture; and others. At a number of pictures, sculptures, and drawings the visitors to the exhibition met with their authors—military artists of the M.B. Grekov Studio.

Lizichev Addresses Conference on February Plenum

PM151127 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Mar 88 First Edition p 1

[Own correspondent report: "Topical Tasks Discussed"]

[Text] A conference has been held at the M.V. Frunze Central House of the Soviet Army involving heads of political departments, heads of social sciences departments of Moscow Garrison military training establishments, and leaders of the military press. Army General A. Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, gave a report to the conference participants on the tasks stemming from the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum.

Ivanovskiy Honored on 70th Birthday

PM151331 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Mar 88 Second Edition p 1

[USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree: "On Awarding Comrade Ye.F. Ivanovskiy the Order of the October Revolution"]

[Text] The Kremlin, Moscow, 5 Mar—Army General Yevgeniy Filippovich Ivanovskiy [USSR deputy defense minister] is awarded the Order of the October Revolution for his services to the Soviet Army and in connection with his 70th birthday.

A. Gromyko, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman.

T. Menteshashvili, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium secretary.